

MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORY
OF THE TEXT OF THE QUR'ĀN

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THE OLD CODICES

THE KITĀB AL-MAṢĀHIF OF IBN ABĪ DĀWŪD TOGETHER
WITH A COLLECTION OF THE VARIANT READINGS FROM
THE CODICES OF IBN MA'SŪD, UBĀI, 'ALĪ, IBN 'ABBĀS,
ANAS, ABŪ MŪSĀ AND OTHER EARLY QUR'ĀNIC AUTHOR-
ITIES WHICH PRESENT A TYPE OF TEXT ANTERIOR TO
THAT OF THE CANONICAL TEXT OF 'UTHMĀN

EDITED BY

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PRINTED FOR THE TRUSTEES OF THE "DE GOEJE FUND"
N° XI



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1937

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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PREFACE

The material in the present volume is offered to students of Islam as a contribution to the problem of the history of the Qurʾān text. For many years the present writer has been collecting materials for a critical text of the Qurʾān, and in 1926 agreed with the late Prof. BERGSTRÄSSER to collaborate in the much bigger task of preparing an Archive of materials from which it might be some day possible to write the history of the development of the Qurʾānic text. It is hoped that it will be possible to publish shortly, as one step in that plan, a text of the Qurʾān with apparatus criticus giving the writer's collections of textual variants gathered from the Commentaries, Lexica, Qirāʾāt books and such sources. Meanwhile Dr PRETZL, BERGSTRÄSSER's successor at Munich, has begun to organize the Archive for the Korankommission set up by the Bavarian Academy at BERGSTRÄSSER's initiation, and has already assembled a goodly collection of photographs of early Kūfic Codices and early unpublished *qirāʾat* works.

The need of the moment is the publication of material that will bring the subject into discussion amongst Islamic scholars. This is a field of Islamic study which offers almost unbroken ground, and presents numerous problems for investigation. One of them is the question of the Old Codices which represented the pre-ʿUthmānic stage of the Qurʾān text. It was the merest chance that led the present writer to unearth the MS of the *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* of Ibn Abī Dāwūd which now lies in the Zāhiriya Library at Damascus, and which is apparently the sole surviving example of the little group of *Maṣāḥif* books which studied the state of the Qurʾān text prior to its canonization in the standard text of ʿUthmān.

The text of this work of Ibn Abī Dāwūd is presented here as accurately as it can be settled on the basis of this unique MS.

The MS is an early one finished on the 17th of Jumādā al-Ākhira of the year 682 A.H = 1283 A.D, and with every *juz'* are given the *isnads* of the authorities through whom the text had descended.

The original from which this text was copied had apparently lost some leaves and suffered some disarrangement. The only serious case of such disarrangement where part of the material of one chapter is found inserted into and breaking the connection of another chapter, has been tacitly corrected in this edition. The MS also contains a number of explanatory interpolations which in this edition have been enclosed in square brackets [], round brackets () being used for small particles etc. which had dropped out through the negligence of the scribe. The Zāhirīya MS is imperfect at the beginning, but probably only one or two leaves are missing. In its present state it consists of 100 folios 17 × 10 cm, the text varying from 21 to 23 lines to the page.

The MS as a whole is well written though sparingly pointed, so that the difficulties of establishing the text are mostly such as arise from the nature of the subject matter. Occasionally a later hand has inserted vowels or made a correction on the margin, not always happily. The greatest difficulty has been with the *isnads* quoted by the author, and although all available controls were applied to them, there may still be some that will not stand the scrutiny of *isnad* critics. The assistance of Muslim savants in this matter was not very helpful for we could not overcome the principle that every *isnad* that led to a statement at variance with orthodoxy was ipso facto condemned.

Much of the material given by Ibn Abī Dāwūd regarding the history of the text of the Qur'ān, though extremely unorthodox, yet agrees so closely with conclusions one had reached from quite other directions that one feels confident in making use of it, however weak orthodoxy may consider its *isnads* to be. It seemed therefore, important to expose the text at once to the criticism of scholarship. The most significant material, naturally, is that concerning the Old Codices, and for this reason the text itself has been prefaced by a collection of the textual variants that have survived to us from the various non-ʿUthmānic Codices, whether

primary or secondary. In the cases of Ibn Masʿūd and Ubai b. Kaʿb, whose readings are important from another point of view, all the readings have been given, but in the others as a rule only those variants which assume a consonantal text differing in some respect from the standard text of ʿUthmān. The standard text is quoted from the Egyptian standard edition of 1342, though I have not slavishly followed its orthography, intelligibility being more important than consistency. The verses are quoted according to the Kūfan verse numbering given in the 1342 edition followed by the number of the verse in FLÜGEL's edition; where FLÜGEL's numbering agrees with the Kūfan numbering only one verse number is given.

These variants from the Old Codices have been read over with several Muslim savants in the East, in the hope of testing them by the criticism of those whose acquaintance with the text is more intimate than any Western scholar can hope to attain. Invariably these savants took the position that the ʿUthmānic text is perfect and unchallengeable, and the variants must therefore be regarded as conscious or unconscious corruptions of this text. Some contested the authenticity of the variants, arguing that they were nothing more than deliberate tampering with the text by later heretics who sought to gain currency for their heretical readings by attributing them to these ancient authorities. Others, though they were but few, were willing to admit the variants, but explained them by the theory that in the early days many of the Companions made for themselves copies of the Qur'ān in which they inserted for their own private edification many explanatory additions, synonyms for words that they did not fully understand, and such like annotations. The text they recited, however, was the original text as it was delivered by the Prophet and afterwards written out officially by ʿUthmān. Thus the variants that have come down from them are only those little peculiarities that were remembered as having been in their private copies, and so have no value whatever for the study of the text.

Modern scholarship naturally cannot accept so easy a way out of the difficulty, for it is quite clear that the text which ʿUthmān

canonized was only one out of many rival texts, and we needs must investigate what went before the canonical text. On the one hand it seems likely that in canonizing the Madīnan text-tradition, 'Uthmān was choosing the text that had all the chances of being nearest the original. On the other hand there is grave suspicion that 'Uthmān may have seriously edited the text that he canonized. It was therefore worth attempting an assembling of all the material that has survived from the rival texts. It is unfortunate that not sufficient has survived to enable us to get a real picture of the text of anyone of them. Such material as is available at the moment, however, is here offered to the criticism of scholars. Some of the variants seem linguistically impossible, and indeed are occasionally noted as such in the sources which quote them. Some give one the impression of being the inventions of later philologists who fathered their inventions on these early authorities. The great majority, however, merit consideration as genuine survivals from the pre-'Uthmānic stage of the text, though only after they have passed the most searching criticism of modern scholarship by scholars approaching them from different points of view, shall we be free to use them in the attempted reconstruction of the history of the text.

If sufficient interest is created among students of Islam to enable systematic search to be made, it is possible that we may yet recover some of the other *Maṣāḥif* books or copies of some of the early *qir'āt* works of ad-Dānī, al-Mahdawī, al-Ahwāzī or Ibn 'Atīya.

My special thanks are due to two Oriental savants, Mūsā Jārullah Rostovdānī of Kazān and Shaikh Sayyid Nawwār of Cairo, both of whom have read with me all the *shādhah qir'āt* from the Old Codices and taught me many things that a Christian can hardly learn for himself. Thanks also are due to Dr OTTO PRETZL who photographed for me the Zāhiriya MS and to Amīn al-Khānījī for his personal care over the printing of the Arabic text in Cairo. Finally there is due an expression of thanks to the Trustees of the de Goeje Foundation whose generosity made possible the publication of the volume in its present form.

Cairo, 1936

ARTHUR JEFFERY

INTRODUCTION

Critical investigation of the text of the Qur'ān is a study which is still in its infancy. 'Within the fold' of Islam it seems never to have attracted much attention. The growth of the Qur'ān is evidence that there was some interest in the question in the early days of Islam¹⁾ but with the fixing of the text *ne varietur* by the Wazīrs Ibn Muqla and Ibn 'Isā in 322 A.H. at the insistence and with the help of the savant Ibn Mujāhid († 324)²⁾, and the examples made of Ibn Miqsam († 362) and the unfortunate Ibn Shanabūdh († 328) who persisted in making use of the old readings after this fixing of the text³⁾, such interest as there was seems to have come to an end. Variant readings within the limits of the Seven systems⁴⁾ that were admitted as canonical by the decision of Ibn Mujāhid naturally continued to be studied by a limited group of scholars, and the readings of the other uncanonical Readers occasionally received attention, more parti-

¹⁾ *Fihrist* 36 mentions a number of works on *Ikhtilāf al-Maṣāḥif*, such as those by Ibn 'Amir († 118), al-Farrā' († 207), Khalaf b. Hishām († 229), al-Madā'inī († 231), al-Warrāq and one Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān. There was also a work with a similar title by Abū Ḥātim († 248) cf. *Fihrist* 59², a work derived from al-Kisā'i († 189) entitled *Kitāb Ikhtilāf Maṣāḥif Ahl al-Madīna wa Ahl al-Kūfa wa Ahl al-Baṣra 'an al-Kisā'i*, and a *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif wa 'l-Hijā'* by Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Isfahānī († 253). Ibn Miqsam († 362) is also said to have composed a *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* (*Fihrist* 33⁶), but the three famous *Maṣāḥif*-books were those of Ibn Abī Dāwūd († 316), Ibn al-Anbārī († 327) and Ibn Ashta al-Isfahānī († 360), cf. *Itqān* 13.

²⁾ Vide Massignon's *al-Hallāj*, I, 241 and Bergsträsser, *Geschichte des Qorantexts*, 152 ff. Some account of the man will be found in al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, V, 144—148, Yāqūt, *Irshād*, II, 116—119, and Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tabaqāt*, I, 139—142, No. 663.

³⁾ On Ibn Miqsam see Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, 499; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tabaqāt*, No. 2945; Miskawaihi *Tajārīb* (ed. Amedroz), I, 285; and on Ibn Shanabūdh see Ibn Khalikān (tr. de Slane), III, 16—18; Yāqūt, *Irshād*, VI, 302—304 and Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tabaqāt*, No. 2707.

⁴⁾ The Seven were Nāfi' of Madīna († 169), Ibn Kathīr of Mecca († 120), Ibn 'Amir of Damascus († 118), Abū 'Amr of Baṣra († 154), 'Aṣim of Kūfa († 128), Ḥamza of Kūfa († 158) and al-Kisā'i of Kūfa († 189).

cularly the systems of the Ten¹⁾ and the Fourteen²⁾, who were nearest to canonical position, though at times others also were included³⁾. No definite attempt, however, was made to construct any type of critical text of the Qur'an⁴⁾, and for the most part textual studies were confined to questions of orthography (*rasm*) and pause (*waqf*). Thus the older variants, even though they were known to be represented in some of the older Codices, for the most part survived only in the works of two classes of savants, firstly certain exegetes who were interested in the theological implications of such variants, and secondly the philologists who quoted them as grammatical or lexical examples.

It is thus that in the Qur'an Commentaries of az-Zamakhshari († 538)⁵⁾, of Abū Ḥayyān of Andalus († 745)⁶⁾, and the more recent Yemenite writer ash-Shawkānī († 1250)⁷⁾ who seems to have used some good old sources no longer available to Western scholars, we find recorded a goodly number of old variants representing a different type of consonantal text from that officially known as the 'Uthmanic text, and in the philological works of such writers as al-'Ukbarī († 616) the blind philologist

¹⁾ To the Seven were added Abū Ja'far of Madīna († 130), Khalaf of Kūfa († 229) and Ya'qūb of Baṣra († 205) to make the Ten. Islamic scholarship is still divided over the question as to whether seven only or all ten are canonical.

²⁾ To the Ten were added Ibn Muḥaiṣin of Mecca († 123), al-Yazīdī of Baṣra († 202), al-Ḥasan of Baṣra († 110) and al-A'mash of Kūfa († 148) to make the Fourteen.

³⁾ We hear of books composed on the Eight Readers, the Eleven Readers, the Thirteen Readers, and sometimes these included Readers not in the usual lists as given above. Thus the *Raḍat al-Ḥuffāz* of al-Mu'addil includes the readings of Humaid b. Qais, Ibn as-Samaifa' and Talḥa b. Muṣarrif (see Pretzl "Die Wissenschaft der Koranlesung" in *Islamica*, VI, p. 43). Also the Cairo MS of the *Sūq al-'Arūs* of Abū Ma'shar at-Ṭabarī contains numerous *mukhtārāt* beyond the canonical authorities, and the lost *Kāmil* of al-Hudhali, though it is a work on the Ten, is said to have contained readings of forty extra Readers (*Nashr* I, 90).

⁴⁾ A possible exception is the case of Abū Mūsā al-Qazwīnī to whom my attention has been drawn by Prof. Massignon, and who seems to have prepared a text in which varied coloured dots represented alternative readings in the text. Some samples of this process are actually found in some Kūfic Codices of the Third and Fourth Centuries, but so far as I know never consistently carried out.

⁵⁾ The *Kashshāf*, ed. Nassau Lees, Calcutta, 1856.

⁶⁾ *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, 8 vols., Cairo, 1328 A.H. printed at the charges of the Sultān of Morocco, and unfortunately in the latter volumes printed in great haste and consequent inaccuracy.

⁷⁾ *Faṭḥ al-Qadīr*, 5 vols., Cairo 1349. In his MS the author used the text of Warsh 'an Nāfi', i. e. the Madīnan text tradition, but in the printing of this edition the publishers have stupidly changed it in every case to the Kūfan text tradition of Ḥafṣ 'an 'Āṣim which is the one current in Egypt at the present day.

of Baghdād¹⁾, Ibn Khālawaih († 370)²⁾ the savant of the Hamdānīd Court of Saif ad-Dawla at Aleppo, and the even more famous Ibn Jinnī († 392)³⁾, a not inconsiderable amount of such material has been preserved, which in some cases, indeed, proves to be one source from which it came to the Exegetes.

To apply this material to a critical investigation of the text of the Qur'an seems never to have occupied the attention of any Muslim writer. In the *Itqān*⁴⁾, as-Suyūṭī's great compendium of Muslim Qur'ānic science, we have recorded a great deal that concerns matters of the Muslim Massora, matters of considerable interest for the history of the exegesis of the Qur'an, but very little that bears on the investigation of the text.

Nor has the subject attracted much attention in the West. Nöldeke opened it up in 1860 in the first edition of his *Geschichte des Qorāns*, and Goldziher drew attention to its importance in the first lecture of his *Richtungen*⁵⁾, but it received no systematic treatment until Bergsträsser undertook his *Geschichte des Qorantexts*⁶⁾ as the third part of the revised edition of

¹⁾ *At-Tibyān fi 'l-I'rāb wa 'l-Qirā'āt fi Fanī' al-Qur'ān* on the margin of Jamal's supercommentary to Jalalain, 4 vols., Cairo 1348. (It was also printed separately at Cairo in 1302 and 1306, and with Jamal at Teheran in 1860 A.D.). Of his *I'rāb al-Qirā'āt ash-Shādhidha* there is a broken MS in the possession of Dr. Yahuda of London and a complete MS discovered by the present writer in the East and now in the Mingana collection at Selly Oak.

²⁾ *Ibn Khālawaih's Sammlung nichtkanonischer Koranlesarten*, herausgegeben von G. Bergsträsser, Stambul 1934. (*Bibliotheca Islamica*, VII). There are also variants recorded in his *I'rāb Thalāṭhin Suwar* of which three MSS are known.

³⁾ *Nichtkanonische Koranlesarten im Muḥṭasab des Ibn Jinnī*, von G. Bergsträsser, München 1933. (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1933, Heft 2). There are good MSS of the *Muḥṭasab* now available and it is hoped that the complete text may be published shortly. It is probable that other works of Ibn Jinnī would repay examination for there are not a few uncanonical variants quoted in the Commentaries from Ibn Jinnī which do not figure in Bergsträsser's lists.

⁴⁾ *Suyūṭī's Itqān on the Exegetical Sciences of the Qur'ān*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1857. (*Bibliotheca Indica*).

The recent work of az-Zanjānī, *Tārīkh al-Qur'ān*, Cairo 1935, may perhaps represent the beginning of a new day. The author is visibly inspired by Western work on the Qur'an, and although bound hand and foot by the necessity of defending the orthodox position, he has made a useful assemblage of material from which others may start.

⁵⁾ *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, being the Olaus Petri Lectures at Upsala, published as No. VI of the De-Goeje Foundation.

⁶⁾ Erste Lieferung 1926: zweite Lieferung 1929: the third and concluding section has now been issued by his pupil and successor at München, Dr. O. Pretzl. Bergsträsser envisaged a much larger plan for a history of the text of the Qur'an based

Nöldeke's work, and with characteristic thoroughness began to work down to bed-rock on the subject. It is an extraordinary thing that we still have no critical text of the Qur'an for common use. Flügel's edition which has been so widely used and so often reprinted, is really a very poor text, for it neither represents any one pure type of Oriental text tradition, nor is the eclectic text he prints formed on any ascertainable scientific basis. Some of the Kazan lithographs¹⁾ make an attempt at giving the Seven canonical systems on the margin, but only very incompletely. The same is true of the curious Teheran lithograph of 1323, which prints parts of the text in Kūfic script (with interlinear naskhī) and parts in ordinary script, with a selection of the Seven on the margins. The best text so far available is the Egyptian standard edition of 1342 (1923)²⁾ of which there are several later prints. This edition attempts to present a pure type of text according to one tradition of the Kūfan school as represented by Ḥafṣ 'an 'Āṣim, though unfortunately some corruptions have crept in owing to the use by its editors of younger authorities on the Kūfan tradition instead of going back to older and better sources³⁾.

The orthodox Muslim theory of the text is well known. According to this theory the Prophet arranged to have the revelations written down immediately they were revealed and used to collate once every year with the Angel Gabriel the material that had

on an assemblage of materials on a vast scale, and of which the publication of a critical text of the Qur'an by the present writer was to form part. (See his preliminary statement, "Plan eines Apparatus Criticus zum Qoran" in the Sitzungsberichte of the Bavarian Academy, 1930, Heft 7). The tragedy of the summer of 1933 which deprived Germany of one of her finest Arabists and the writer of a close personal friend, has necessarily delayed this project and somewhat changed it. Dr. Pretzl, however, has undertaken to continue with the plan and a new scheme for it is being elaborated. (See Pretzl, "Die Fortführung des apparatus criticus zum Koran" in *Sitzb. Bayer. Akad.* 1934, Heft 2).

¹⁾ E. g. the folio edition of 1857.

²⁾ Bergsträsser has given an account of it in *Der Islam*, XX (1932), Heft 1 in his article "Koranlesung in Kairo".

³⁾ Two of these older sources have been made available in careful editions in the *Bibliotheca Islamica* by Dr. Otto Pretzl, viz. the *Tafsir* and the *Muqni'* of ad-Dānī († 444) the Spanish Muslim savant. — *Das Lehrbuch der Sieben Koranlesungen von Abū 'Amr ad-Dānī*, 1930, and *Orthographie und Punktierung des Korans: zwei Schriften von Abū 'Amr ad-Dānī*, 1932. In the "Anmerkungen" to this latter text Pretzl notes a number of cases where the editors of the Egyptian standard text have deviated from the older tradition.

thus far been revealed. In the last year of his life they so collated it twice¹⁾. When the Prophet died the text of the Qur'an was thus already fixed, and all the material gathered in an orderly fashion though it had not yet been written out, at least not in book form. Under the Caliphate of Abū Bakr took place the writing of it out in a first official recension. Later, in the Caliphate of 'Uthmān it was discovered that all sorts of dialectal peculiarities had crept into the recitation of the text, so 'Uthmān formed a Committee, borrowed from Ḥafṣa the copy made by Abū Bakr, and on its basis had a standard Codex written out in the pure dialect of Quraish. Copies of this were made and sent to the chief centres of the Muslim empire where they became Metropolitan Codices, and all other Codices that had been formed were ordered to be burned. This was the Second Recension and all modern editions produced in the East are supposed to be exact reproductions of the text (though not of the form) of this 'Uthmānic Recension²⁾.

Very little examination is needed to reveal the fact that this account is largely fictitious. Nothing is more certain than that when the Prophet died there was no collected, arranged, collated body of revelations. Recent research by Dr. Bell of Edinburgh and Prof. Torrey of Yale has suggested that there is internal evidence in the Qur'an itself that the Prophet kept in his own care a considerable mass of revelation material belonging to various periods of his activity, some of it in revised and some of it in unrevised form, and that this material was to form the basis of the *Kitāb* he wished to give his community before he died. Death, however, overtook him before anything was done about the matter. If this is so we are at a loss to know what became of this material, which obviously would have been the community's most precious legacy³⁾. The earliest strata of tradition

¹⁾ *Iqān*, 146.

²⁾ Thus in the Preface to the above-mentioned Egyptian Standard edition (student's edition of 1344) we read —

"Its consonantal text has been taken from what the Massoretes have handed down as to the Codices which 'Uthmān b. 'Affān sent to Baṣra, Kūfa, Damascus and Mecca, the Codex which he appointed for the people of Madīna, and that which he kept for himself, and from the Codices which have been copied from them".

³⁾ There is a Shi'a tradition (Kāshānī, *Ṣāfi*, p. 9) that before his death the Prophet

available to us make it quite certain that there was no Qur'ān left ready as a heritage for the community. The Prophet had proclaimed his messages orally, and, except in the latter period of his ministry, whether they were recorded or not was often a matter of chance. Some pieces of revelation material seem to have been used liturgically and so probably would have been written. Some pieces he himself caused to be written down in permanent form as they were of a definite legislative character¹). Besides these there were numerous portions, generally small pieces, though sometimes pieces of considerable extent, that were in the possession of different members of the community, either memorized or written down on scraps of writing material that happened to be handy. Certain individuals among the early Muslims, perhaps even a little before the Prophet's death, had specialized in collecting or memorizing this revelation material. They and their successors became known as the *Qurra'* — the Reciters, later the Readers, who constituted as it were the depository of revelation. Tradition says that it was the slaughter of a great number of these at the Battle of Yamāma in 12 A.H. that caused interest to be aroused in getting all the revelation material set down in permanent written form, lest with the passing away of the *Qurra'* much of it should be lost²).

That Abū Bakr was one of those who collected revelation material was doubtless true. He may possibly have inherited material that the Prophet had stored away in preparation for the *Kitāb*. That he ever made an official recension as the orthodox theory demands is exceedingly doubtful. His collection

called 'Alī and told him that this material was hidden behind his couch written on leaves and silk and parchments, bidding him take it and publish it in Codex form. It is also sometimes suggested that this material assembled by the Prophet was the nucleus of Abū Bakr's collection. In neither case, however, can we feel much confidence in the statements.

¹) There are of course elaborate stories of the amanuenses of the Prophet, and there can be no doubt that he did employ amanuenses for his diplomatic correspondence. That certain of these amanuenses were at times called upon to write out special pieces of revelation is not at all impossible. It is difficult to take seriously, however, the theory that considers them as a body of prepared scribes waiting to take down revelations as they were uttered.

²) Ya'qūbī (ed. Houtsma), II, 152; *Fihrist* 24; ad-Dānī, *Muqni'* 4 ff. and c.f. Nöldeke-Schwally II, 11 ff. There are many references to material that was lost at Yamāma that should have formed part of the Qur'ān.

would have been a purely private affair, just as quite a number of other Companions of the Prophet had made personal collections as private affairs. It was after the death of the Prophet that these collections became important. We have well-known stories of how 'Alī, Sālim, Abū Mūsā and others had collections, and there are traditions which give lists of those who had commenced making collections or memorizing during the lifetime of the Prophet. As no two of these lists agree with one another to any great extent one is driven to conclude that while it was known that such collections were made there was no accurate information, save with regard to a few names, as to who made them¹). Orthodox theory, even to the present day, has insisted that the word *jama'a* "to collect" used in these traditions means nothing more than "to memorize" and so does not imply that the collection was made in written form. As, however, 'Alī brought along what he had collected on the back of his camel, as some of the collections had come to have independent names, and as 'Uthmān, after sending out his official copies to the Metropolitan cities, had to order all other copies to be burned, there cannot be the slightest doubt that there were written collections.

What we find in early Islam, as a matter of fact, is only what we might have expected to find. Different members of the community who were interested began to collect in written form so much as they could gather of the revelation material that had been proclaimed by the Prophet. Later, with the gradual expansion of the Muslim empire, some of these collections began to acquire notoriety as they came to be in some sort authoritative in different centres. Naturally it would be those collections that could claim some completeness that would attain to this position of eminence. Thus we read that the people of Homs and Damascus followed the Codex of Miqdād b. al-Aswad²), the Kūfāns that of Ibn Mas'ūd, the Baṣrans that of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, and the Syrians in general that of Ubai' b. Ka'b (Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*, III, 86). Here we have the beginning of Metropolitan

¹) Ibn al-Jazari, *Nashr* I, 6; *Fihrist*, 27; Bukhārī (ed. Krehl) III, 397; Ibn Sa'd *Ṭabaqāt*, II, ii, 112—114. See also Nöldeke-Schwally II, 8—11.

²) This name is probably a mistake for Mu'adh b. Jabal, as indeed Bergsträsser has noted, *Qerantext*, 173.

Codices, each great centre following that collection, or perhaps we may say that type of text, which had local fame.

Now when we come to the accounts of 'Uthmān's recension, it quickly becomes clear that his work was no mere matter of removing dialectal peculiarities in reading, but was a necessary stroke of policy to establish a standard text for the whole empire. Apparently there were wide divergences between the collections that had been digested into Codices in the great Metropolitan centres of Madīna, Mecca, Baṣra, Kūfa and Damascus, and for political reasons if for no other it was imperative to have one standard Codex accepted all over the empire. 'Uthmān's solution was to canonize the Madīnan Codex¹⁾ and order all others to be destroyed. It is very significant that the Qurra' were violently opposed to 'Uthmān because of this act²⁾, and there is evidence that for quite a while the Muslims in Kūfa were divided into two factions, those who accepted the 'Uthmānic text, and those who stood by Ibn Mas'ūd, who had refused to give up his Codex to be burned³⁾.

There can be little doubt that the text canonized by 'Uthmān was only one among several types of text in existence at the time⁴⁾. To canonize the Madīnan text was doubtless the natural thing to do, since in spite of the fact that Kūfa early came to have the reputation of being par excellence the centre of Qur'anic studies, the prestige of Madīna, the Prophet's own city, must at that time have been enormous, and the living tradition would doubtless have been most abundant there. We may even say that a priori the Madīnan text had all the chances in its favour of being the best text available. Nevertheless it is a question of the utmost importance for any study of the history

¹⁾ Assuming that there was a Madīnan Codex. The stories of 'Uthmān's Committee in the *Muqni'* and in Ibn Abī Dāwūd certainly suggest that Madīna had depended largely on oral tradition and that this Committee of 'Uthmān made a first hand collection by taking down the material directly from the depositories and demanding two witnesses for every revelation accepted.

²⁾ It will be remembered that the Ibādites made the charge against 'Uthmān that he had tampered with God's word.

³⁾ Ya'qūbī, *Historiae* II, 197; Ibn al-Athīr III, 86, 87; Qurṭubī I, 53.

⁴⁾ Ibn Abī Dāwūd, p. 83 quotes from Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh († 194) the statement that many of the Companions of the Prophet had their own text of the Qur'ān, but they had passed away and their texts had not survived. This same fact is evidenced by the recurring reference to *al-ḥarf al-awwal* where what is meant is a reading from the time of the Prophet which is different from that in the 'Uthmānic text.

of the Qur'anic text, whether we can glean any information as to the rival types of text that were suppressed in the interests of 'Uthmān's standard edition.

In the works of the exegetes and the philologists we not infrequently come across variant readings that have been preserved from one or other of these displaced Codices. Sometimes the reference is merely to a "Codex of the Ṣaḥāba" or "a certain old Codex" or "in certain of the Codices" (في بعض المصاحف) or "in the former text" (في الحرف الأول). At times it is to one of the cities "a Codex of Baṣra", "a Codex of Ḥoms", "a Codex of Ahl al-'Āliya" (Baghawī II, 52). Sometimes it is to a Codex in the possession of some particular person, as "a Codex belonging to al-Ḥajjāj" (Khal. 122; Gin. 60), or "a Codex belonging to the grandfather of Malik b. Anas" (*Muqni'* 120), or a Codex used by Abū Ḥanīfa (see Massignon's *al-Hallāj*, I, 243 n. 5), or one of Ḥammād b. az-Zibriqān (Khal. 55; *Muzhir* II, 187). Mostly, however, the references are to the well-known old Codices of Ibn Mas'ūd, Ubai' b. Ka'b, etc., which were known to go back to the time before the canonization by 'Uthmān of one standard type of text.

The amount of material preserved in this way is, of course, relatively small, but it is remarkable that any at all has been preserved. With the general acceptance of a standard text other types of text, even when they escaped the flames, would gradually cease being transmitted from sheer lack of interest in them. Such readings from them as would be remembered and quoted among the learned would be only the relatively few readings that had some theological or philological interest, so that the great mass of variants would early disappear. Moreover, even with regard to such variants as did survive there were definite efforts at suppression in the interests of orthodoxy. One may refer, for instance, to the case of the great Baghdad scholar Ibn Shanabūdh (245—328), who was admitted to be an eminent Qur'anic authority, but who was forced to make public recantation of his use of readings from the Old Codices.

Ibn Shanabūdh's was not the only case, and such treatment of famous scholars¹⁾ was not encouraging to the study of the

¹⁾ In the accounts of Ibn Shanabūdh will be noticed the effort made to paint

variants from the pre-⁶Uthmānic period. That orthodoxy continued to exert this same pressure against uncanonical variants is revealed to us from many hints from the period subsequent to Ibn Shanabūdh. For example, Abū Hayyan, *Baḥr* VII, 268, referring to a notorious textual variant, expressly says that in his work, though it is perhaps the richest in uncanonical variants that we have, he does not mention those variants where there is too wide a divergence from the standard text of ⁶Uthmān. In other words, when we have assembled all the variants from these earlier Codices that can be gleaned from the works of the exegetes and philologists, we have only such readings as were useful for purposes of *Tafsīr* and were considered to be sufficiently near orthodoxy to be allowed to survive²).

Modern Muslim savants almost invariably set aside the variants recorded from the Old Codices on the ground that they are *Tafsīr*, or as we should say, explanatory glosses on the ⁶Uthmānic text, and they roundly condemn such ancient scholars as Ibn Khālawaih and Ibn Jinnī for not knowing the difference between *Qirā'āt* and *Tafsīr*. It is clear, however, that only such *qirā'āt* as were of the kind that could be used for *tafsīr* had any likelihood of being preserved.

The Maṣāḥif Books

In the fourth Islamic century there were three books written on this question of the Old Codices which had some influence on later studies. These were the works already mentioned of Ibn al-Anbarī, Ibn Ashta and Ibn Abī Dāwūd. In each case the book was entitled *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*, and in each case the work,

him as an ignoramus and a weak-minded person. This was the usual procedure with regard to all those suspected of unorthodox views and is not to be taken seriously. It is perfectly clear from the sources that he was a famous scholar and drew large numbers of students, who in those days as in these did not flock to listen to the ignorant and weak-minded.

²) An interesting modern example occurred during the last visit of the late Prof. Bergsträsser to Cairo. He was engaged in taking photographs for the Archive and had photographed a number of the early Kūfic Codices in the Egyptian Library when I drew his attention to one in the Azhar Library that possessed certain curious features. He sought permission to photograph that also, but permission was refused and the Codex withdrawn from access, as it was not consistent with orthodoxy to allow a Western scholar to have knowledge of such a text.

while dealing with the ⁶Uthmānic text, its collection, orthography, and the general Massoretic details with regard to it, dealt also with what was known of the Old Codices which it had replaced. The most famous of the three was that of Ibn al-Anbarī († 328), a work which was doubtless composed before the canonization by Ibn Mujāhid of the Seven Readers. The work is lost but from the use made of it by later writers such as-Suyūṭī¹), one gathers that it contained a certain amount of *Tafsīr* as well as information as to the readings from the Old Codices. The work of Ibn Ashta († 360) seems to have been of somewhat similar scope. He was a pupil of Ibn Mujāhid and wrote a special work *al-Mufīd* on the subject of the uncanonical variants²), besides this work on the Codices which was also used by as-Suyūṭī³). The only work of this kind that has survived, however, is that of Ibn Abī Dāwūd († 316) which, unfortunately, seems to have been the narrowest in scope of them all.

⁶Abdallāh b. Sulaimān b. al-Ash'ath Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd⁴) as-Sijistānī was born in 230 A.H. the son of the Imām Abū Dāwūd whose collection ranks third among the canonical collections of Ḥadīth. He was born in Sijistān but his father took him early on his travels and he is said to have visited Khorasān, Isfahān, Fars, Baṣra, Baghdād, Kūfa, Madīna, Mecca, Damascus, Egypt, al-Jazīra and ath-Thughūr. In every place where there were scholars his father set him to learn from them, so that he may be said to have been the pupil of most of the great savants of his day⁵). There is a story that when he came to Kūfa he had only one dirham which he spent on thirty bushels of broad beans. Each day he ate a bushel of the beans and by the time they were finished he had mastered a thousand Traditions (or some say 30,000) from the Kūfan teacher Abū Sa'īd al-Ashajj.

His chief fame all his lifetime was as a Traditionist. There is a story that he returned to Sijistān in the days of 'Amr b. al-

¹) Cf. *Itqān* 428 and numerous quotations in *ad-Durr al-Manthūr*.

²) Ibn al-Jazārī, *Ṭabaqāt* II, 184.

³) *Itqān* 13 and 428.

⁴) For his life see Ibn Khallikān (Eg. ed.) I, 268, 269; Ibn al-Jazārī, *Ṭabaqāt*, No. 1779; Dhahabī *Lib. Class.*, II, 80; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghdād* IX, 464—468; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt ad-Dhahab* II, 168, 273.

⁵) He is generally known as the pupil of Mḥd b. Aslam aṭ-Ṭūsī and 'Isā b. Zagħba. Al-Khaṭīb IX, 464, 465 gives a list of his various teachers, and the Readers from whom he drew his Qur'ānic knowledge are listed by Ibn al-Jazārī.

Laith and some of his fellow townsmen gathered together to request him to recite to them Hadith that he had learned on his journeyings. He refused on the ground that he had no book, but they retorted "What need has the son of Abū Dāwūd of books?" So he submitted with good grace and dictated a great number of Traditions from memory. When he got back to Baghdād he found that the story had preceded him and the Baghdādīs were saying that he had fooled the innocents of Sijistān. But when they hired scribes to go to Sijistān and bring back copies of what Ibn Abī Dāwūd had dictated there, they found that on comparing them with the authorities in Baghdād they could find only six mistakes in all that he had dictated from memory.

In Qur'ānic studies he was a pupil of Abū Khallād Sulaimān b. Khallād († 261), Abū Zaid 'Umar b. Shabba († 262), Yūnus b. Ḥabīb († 267), Mūsā b. Ḥizām at-Tirmidhī (c. 260), and Ya'qub b. Sufyān († 277), and was one of the teachers of Ibn Mujāhid († 324) and an-Naqqāsh († 351). He wrote a number of works on Qur'ānic subjects. In the *Fihrist*, pp. 232, 233 we find mentioned:

A book of *Tafsīr* (see also *Fihrist* 34¹¹; Dhahabī, II, 80; al-Khaṭīb, IX, 464).

Kitāb an-Nāsikh wa'l-Mansūkh (see *Fihrist* 37²⁵; Dhahabī, II, 80).

Kitāb Naẓm al-Qur'ān.

Kitāb Fadā'il al-Qur'ān.

Kitāb Sharī'at at-Tafsīr.

Kitāb Sharī'at al-Maqārī'.

Dhahabī also mentions a book called *al-Qur'ān*, which probably means his *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif*¹⁾, which is also sometimes called, though with less justice, *Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Maṣāḥif*. Al-Khaṭīb mentions a book on *qirā'āt* which may refer to the *Maṣāḥif*-book or may be another work, for Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn in *an-Nujūm az-Zāhira* (Eg. ed. III, 222) mentions him as a writer on *qirā'āt*.

There are a number of traditions going back to him that are not pleasing to orthodoxy and so there was put into circulation the legend that his father had branded him as a liar, and therefore no attention is to be paid to material that is dependent on his authority. This, of course, is tendential, and the biographers

¹⁾ *Fihrist* 36¹¹ attributes this book to his father Abū Dāwūd the Traditionist.

usually regard him as trustworthy (ثقة), the *Mughnī* even noting that his father's branding him as a liar was over something other than *Hadīth*¹⁾. To the last he seems to have held the respect of his townspeople for there is a pleasing story of how when he was old and blind he used to come and sit on the mimbar while his son Abū Ma'mar would sit on the step below him with the book. From his book the son would mention the particular *hadīth* and then from memory the old man would go on reciting to the people.

Of his *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* there are three manuscripts known, one in the Zāhiriya Library at Damascus (*Ḥadīth*, No. 407), one in the Egyptian State Library (*Qirā'āt*, No. 504), and one in my own possession. Both these latter, however, are copies of the Zāhiriya MS, so that we are really dependent on the one manuscript for establishing the text.

The number of actual variants given in this text is very small and obviously represents only those that happened to be found in his particular collection of traditions. Most of the variants he notes are also to be found in other Qur'ānic works. His chief importance is that he brings before us so many Codices of which we have no mention as such in any other source at present available. The Codices of Ibn Ma'sūd, Ubai b. Ka'b, Ḥafsa, Anas and others are mentioned in numerous other sources, but though we find numerous references to *shādhah* readings of such early authorities as 'Ubaid b. 'Umair, 'Ikrima, al-A'mash, Sa'īd b. Jubair and others we did not know of actual Codices of theirs, though in some cases we strongly suspected their existence. An interpolation in the text (p. 50) might seem at the first glance to be seeking to avoid the implications of this fact by making Ibn Abī Dāwūd say that he uses the word *muṣḥaf* (Codex) in the sense of *ḥarf* or *qirā'a* (reading) so that the variants he quotes need not be regarded as coming from actual written Codices. There can be little doubt, however, that when he speaks of the *muṣḥaf* of So and So he really means a written Codex. In the case of some of the Codices he mentions

¹⁾ But see Ibn al-Imād II, 273. Ad-Dāraqutnī in al-Khaṭīb, IX, 468 says — *ثقة إلا أنه كبير الخطأ في الكلام على الحديث* which leaves it indefinite as to where his weakness was.

we have, of course, ample evidence from other sources of their independent existence, and in the case of some others the nature of the variants quoted strongly suggests that they must have been derived from written Codices.

There are a few other Old Codices mentioned in other works which are not given by Ibn Abī Dāwūd. Adding them to his lists in the interests of completeness we can draw up the following scheme of the Old Codices.

(a) Primary Codices:

Salim † 12.	Zaid b. Thabit † 48.
‘Umar † 23.	[‘A’isha † 58.]
Ubayr b. Ka’b † 29.	[Umm Salama † 59.]
Ibn Mas‘ūd † 33.	‘Abdallah b. ‘Amr † 65.
‘Alī † 40.	Ibn ‘Abbās † 68.
Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī † 44.	Ibn az-Zubair † 73.
Hafsa † 45.	‘Ubaid b. ‘Umair † 74.
	Anas b. Mālik † 91.

(b) Secondary Codices:

‘Alqama b. Qais † 62.	} All of which are based on the Codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd.
Ar-Rabī‘ b. Khuthaim † 64.	
Al-Hārith b. Suwaid c. 70.	
Al-Aswad † 74.	
Hiṭṭān † 73.	
Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif † 112.	
Al-A‘mash † 148.	
Sa‘īd b. Jubair † 94.	
Mujāhid † 101.	
‘Ikrima † 105.	
‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ † 115.	
Ṣāliḥ b. Kaisān † 144.	
Ja‘far aṣ-Ṣādiq † 148.	

It is of course obvious that all the information we can gather regarding the text of these early Codices is of the utmost importance for the textual criticism of the Qur’ān. This in the absence of any direct manuscript evidence¹⁾ gives us our sole

¹⁾ It was at first thought that Dr. Mingana’s find in the palimpsest leaves published by him in 1914, *Leaves from three Ancient Qur’ans possibly pre-‘Othmanic, with a list of their Variants*, might provide us with fragments of one of these

witness to the types of text which ‘Uthman’s standard text superseded. It is possible, as we have already seen, that in choosing the Madinan text tradition for canonization ‘Uthmān chose the best of the texts available. We can never know this for certain the one way or the other unless the unexpected happens and we recover some considerable portion of one of the rival texts. A collection of the variants still surviving from the Old Codices is our sole means of forming any judgment as to the type of text they presented.

The question arises, of course, as to the authenticity of the readings ascribed to these Old Codices. In some cases it must be confessed there is a suspicion of readings later invented by the grammarians and theologians being fathered on these early authorities in order to gain the prestige of their name. This suspicion is perhaps strongest in the case of distinctively Shi‘a readings that are attributed to Ibn Mas‘ūd, and in readings attributed to the wives of the Prophet. It is also felt in regard to some of the readings attributed to Ibn ‘Abbās, who as the “übermensch des *tafsir*” (Goldziher, *Richtungen* 65) tended to get his authority quoted for any and every matter connected with Qur’ānic studies. On the whole, however, one may feel confident that the majority of readings quoted from any Reader really go back to early authority.

The more difficult question is that of defective transmission. Occasionally in reading the Commentaries one finds a reading that is commonly known as coming from a certain early Reader attributed to quite another source. Where authorities can be weighed it is generally possible to decide which attribution is correct, but in cases where a variant is quoted by only one source which is otherwise known for the carelessness of its citation of authorities, one can never be sure that that particular variant is correctly attributed to the Reader given. A similar problem of accurate transmission naturally attaches to the variants themselves. Being uncanonical variants there was none of the

earlier Codices. Closer examination, however, has shown that neither they nor the curious variants found by him in Syriac in a MS of Barṣalibi (see *An ancient Syriac Translation of the Qur’an exhibiting new Verses and Variants*, Manchester, 1925), have any relation to the text of these Old Codices with which we are here concerned. See Bergsträsser, *Geschichte des Qorantexts*, pp. 53—57 and 97—102.

meticulous care taken over their transmission such as we find for the canonical readings, and we not infrequently have various forms of the variant attributed to the same Reader in different sources. In such cases nothing can be done but to give them all in the hope that further information may enable us to decide between them. Some of the variants in the form in which they have survived to us seem linguistically impossible, and in certain cases this has been noted in the source which quotes the variant. The defect is doubtless due to faulty transmission, and it is possible that some scholar may even now spot where the corruption lies and restore us the original reading.

Bergsträsser in his preliminary collection of the uncanonical readings of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubai' ¹⁾ made an attempt to estimate the value of these two texts as compared with the 'Uthmānic text. With the increase of material one feels less inclined to venture on such a judgment of value. It is true that in some cases the uncanonical variants from these Old Codices may be interpreted as improvements on the 'Uthmānic text, as e. g. *بِ* instead of *بِئَل* in II, 137/131 may have been suggested by motives of piety: or expansions thereof as in II, 275/276 where the added *يوم القيامة* may be regarded as an explanatory inflation. In such cases the 'Uthmānic text would seem to be the more primitive text which the other types assume as their basis. But on the other hand there are equally many cases where the facts point the other way. For instance in II, 9/8 the 'Uthmānic *بِمَدْعُون* may be regarded as an attempt to soften the idea of deceiving Allah which is suggested by the alternative reading *بِمَدْعُون*: or *لَلَيْت* in II, 196/192 may have been set for theological reasons instead of *لَلَيْت*, or the present form of II, 240/241 may be taken as an expansion of the simpler form given in the other Codices. Bergsträsser drew attention to the number of cases where the variant in the Old Codices was merely a synonym for the word in the text but the cases are about evenly balanced for the simpler word being in the 'Uthmānic text or in the variant.

Remembering that we have in our hands only a very small portion of the variants from these Codices, and that what we have consists in the main only of such variants as were not too

¹⁾ *Geschichte des Qorantexts*, pp. 60—96.

unorthodox, we may take the following collections as the base for our further investigation into the earliest stage in the formation of the text of the Qur'ān.

The material which follows is taken from the writer's collections made with a view to a critical text of the Qur'ān. They will of course appear in their place in the apparatus criticus to that text when it appears, but the assembling of them here under the individual names was essential that scholars might be able to deal critically with the evidence of each Codex as a whole. The main sources from which the variants have been drawn are:

Abū Hayyān, *Al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, 8 vols., Cairo 1328.

Alūsī, *Rūḥ al-Ma'ānī fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān wa Sab' al-Mathānī*, 30 vols., Cairo, n. d.

Baghawī, *Ma'ālim at-Tanzīl*, 7 vols., Cairo 1332 (On margin of the *Tafsīr al-Khāzin*).

Baiḍāwī, *Anwār at-Tanzīl wa Asrār at-Ta'wīl*, 5 pts., Cairo 1330.

Balawī, *Kitāb Alif Bā*, 2 vols., Cairo 1287.

Bannā', *Ithāf Fuḍalā' al-Bashar fī 'l-Qirā'āt al-Arba'ata 'ashar*, Cairo 1317.

Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Mafāṭīḥ al-Ghaib*, 8 vols, Cairo 1327.

Farrā', *Kitāb Ma'ānī al-Qur'ān*, Ms. Stambul, Nuru Osmaniya 459.

Ibn al-Anbārī, *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, ed. Gotthold Weil, Leiden 1913.

Ibn Hishām, *Mughnī al-Labīb*, 2 pts., Cairo 1347.

" " *Tahdhīb at-Tawāḍīḥ*, 2 pts., Cairo 1329.

Ibn Jinnī, *Nichtkanonische Koranlesarten im Muḥtasab des Ibn Jinnī*, von G. Bergsträsser, München 1933.

Ibn Khālawaih, *Ibn Khālawaih's Sammlung nichtkanonischer Koranlesarten*, herausgegeben von G. Bergsträsser, Stambul 1934.

Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 20 vols., Cairo 1307.

Ibn Ya'īsh, *Commentary to the Mufaṣṣal*, ed. Jahn, 2 vols., Leipzig 1882.

Khafājī, *Ṭnāyat al-Qāḍī wa Kifāyat ar-Rāḍī*, 8 vols., Cairo 1283.

Marandī, *Qurrat 'Ain al-Qurrā'*, Ms. Escorial 1337.

Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, vol. 2, Hyderabad 1312.

Nasafī, *Madārik at-Tanzīl wa Haqā'iq at-Ta'wīl*, 4 vols., Cairo 1333.

Nisāburī, *Gharā'ib al-Qur'ān* (on the margin of *Tafsīr at-Ṭabarī*).

Qunawī, *Hāshia 'alā l-Baiḍāwī*, 7 vols., Stambul 1285.

- Qurtubī, *Al-Fāmi' li Ahkām al-Qur'ān*, 2 vols. (all so far published), Cairo 1935.
- Shawkānī, *Fath al-Qadīr*, 5 vols., Cairo 1349.
- Sibawaih, *Le Livre de Sibawaih*, ed. Derenbourg, 2 vols., Paris 1889.
- Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, ed. Sprenger, Calcutta 1857.
- Suyūṭī, *Ad-Durr al-Manthūr fī 't-Tafsīr al-Ma'thūr*, 6 vols., Cairo 1314.
- Suyūṭī, *Al-Muḥḥir*, 2 vols., Cairo 1282.
- Ṭabarī, *Fāmi' al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, 30 vols., Cairo 1330.
- Ṭabarsī, *Majma' al-Bayān fī 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān*, 2 vols., Teheran 1304.
- 'Ukbarī, *Imlā' fī 'l-I'rāb wa 'l-Qirā'āt fī Jamī' al-Qur'ān*, 2 pts., Cairo 1321.
- 'Ukbarī, *I'rāb al-Qirā'āt ash-Shādhḥa*, MS Mingana Islamic Arabic 1649.
- Zamakhsharī, *Al-Kashshāf*, ed. Nassau Lees, Calcutta 1861.

THE OLD CODICES

(a) Primary Codices.

- Codex of Ibn Mas'ūd.
- Codex of Ubai b. Ka'b.
- Codex of 'Alī.
- Codex of Ibn 'Abbās.
- Codex of Abū Mūsā.
- Codex of Ḥafṣa.
- Codex of Anas b. Mālīk.
- Codex of 'Umar.
- Codex of Zaid b. Thābit.
- Codex of Ibn az-Zubair.
- Codex of Ibn 'Amr.
- Codex of 'Ā'isha.
- Codex of Sālim.
- Codex of Umm Salama.
- Codex of 'Ubaid b. 'Umair.

CODEX OF IBN MAS'UD † 33

‘Abdallah b. Mas‘ūd (sometimes quoted in the sources as ‘Abd Allah and sometimes as Ibn Umm ‘Abd)¹⁾ was a Companion and one of the early Muslims who could boast that he had joined the faith earlier than ‘Umar. As a youth he had herded cattle for ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu‘aiṭ and so was sometimes referred to contemptuously as the Hudhalī slave (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, I, 2812). When he became a Muslim he attached himself to the Prophet and became his personal servant. He went on the Hijra to Abyssinia and also to Madīna and was present at both Badr and Uhūd. It was his boast that he had learned some seventy Sūras directly from the mouth of the Prophet, and tradition has it that he was one of the first to teach Qur’ān reading (Ibn Sa‘d, III, i, 107). He seems not to have been a great success when tried in an official capacity, but at Kūfa, to which the Caliph sent him, he became famous as a Traditionist and as an authority on the Qur’ān. Tradition tells that he was one of the four to whom Muḥammad advised his community to turn for instruction in the Qur’ān²⁾. It was doubtless his close personal contact with the Prophet over so many years that gave such prestige to his opinions on Sunna and Qur’ān.

We have no information as to when he began to make his Codex. Apparently he began to collect material during the lifetime of the Prophet and worked it up into Codex form when he was established at Kūfa and was looked to as the authority on Qur’ānic matters. At any rate we find his Codex in use there and followed by the Kūfans before the official Recension was made by ‘Uthmān. When ‘Uthmān sent to Kūfa the official copy of his standard text with orders that all other texts should

be burned, Ibn Mas‘ūd refused to give up his copy, being indignant that the text established by a young upstart like Zaid b. Thābit should be given preference to his, since he had been a Muslim while Zaid was still in the loins of an unbeliever¹⁾. There seems to have been considerable difference of opinion in Kūfa over this question of the Codex, some accepting the new text sent by ‘Uthmān, but a great many continuing to hold by the Codex of Ibn Mas‘ūd²⁾ which by that time had come to be regarded as the Kūfan text. The strength of the position of his Codex in Kūfa is well illustrated by the number of secondary Codices of which some information has come down to us and which followed the text of Ibn Mas‘ūd. It was from its vogue in Kūfa that his Codex came to be favoured by Shī‘a circles, though one is not disposed to accept as genuine all the Shī‘a readings that are attributed to his Codex, nor indeed those found in Sunnī sources in favour of Ahl al-Bait.

It was well known in the early days of Islam that one peculiarity of Ibn Mas‘ūd’s Codex was that it did not contain Sūras I, CXIII and CXIV, i.e. the *Fātiḥa*, which is an opening prayer to the book, and the *Mu‘awwidhatānī* with which it ends³⁾. Modern scholarship on quite other grounds holds that these were not originally part of the Qur’ān but are of the nature of liturgical additions. That Ibn Mas‘ūd knew of these passages as used liturgically is evident from the fact that we have preserved to us notes of words in which he differed from the customary way of reading them.

A second peculiarity equally well known was that the order of Sūras in his recension differed considerably from that of ‘Uthmān’s recension. Two lists giving this Sūra order have been preserved to us, which do not, however, entirely agree with one another. The earlier is that given by Ibn an-Nadīm (377)⁴⁾ in the *Fihrist* p. 26 (ed. Flügel) on the authority of Al-Faḍl b. Shadhān († before 280), which runs as follows:

¹⁾ Ibn Abī Dāwūd p. 13 ff.

²⁾ Ibn al-Athīr *Kāmil* (ed. Tornberg) III, 86, 87.

³⁾ On them see Nöldeke-Schwally I, 108 ff. The *Fātiḥa* was apparently added to some copies that gave Ibn Mas‘ūd’s text. C.f. *Itqān*, 152, 187 and the statement of Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 26.

⁴⁾ This is the date he is said to have finished the *Fihrist*: the date of his death is uncertain.

¹⁾ Sources for his life are — Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 396 ff; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, III, 256—260; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba* II, 890—893; *Tahdhīb* VI, 27, 28; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt* No. 1914; Ibn Sa‘d II, ii, 104 ff, III, i, 106 ff.

²⁾ خلافاً للقرآن من أربعة — Nawawī, 372; Bukhārī (ed. Krehl) III, 396.

2, 4, 3, 7, 6, 5, 10¹⁾, 9, 16, 11, 12, 17, 21, 23, 26, 37, 33, 28, 24, 8, 19, 29, 30, 36, 25, 22, 13, 34, 35, 14, 47, 31²⁾, 39, (40 bis 46)³⁾, 40, 43, 41, 46, 45, 44, 48, 57, 59⁴⁾, 32, 50, 65, 49, 67, 64, 63, 62, 61, 72, 71, 58, 60, 66, 55, 53, 51, 52⁵⁾, 54, 69, 56, 68, 79, 70, 74, 73, 83, 80, 76, 75, 77, 78, 81, 82, 88, 87, 92, 89, 85, 84, 96, 90, 93, 94, 86, 100, 107, 101, 98, 91, 95, 104, 105, 106, 102, 97, 103, 110, 108, 109, 111, 112.

The Sūras missing here are 1, 15, 18, 20, 27, 42, 99, 113, 114. That Sūras 1, 113, 114 were omitted in his Codex we have already seen, but as variants from all the others omitted here are found quoted from him the material of which they are composed must have been in his Codex. Indeed they are all to be found in the list of his Sūras given in the *Itqān*. When we examine these missing Sūras we discover that 15 is the last in the *الر* series; 18 comes immediately before the *كيعص* Sūra (19) and is suspected to have had some connection therewith (Goossens in *Der Islam* XIII, 211); 20 is the sole *طه* Sūra; 27 is the *طس* Sūra which breaks in between two *طسم* Sūras; 42 is the *حم عسق* Sūra which breaks into the *حم* Sūras, so that one may suspect that there is something behind their omission in the *Fihrist*. Yet in view of the fact that the missing Sūras are in the list in the *Itqān*, and the *Fihrist* itself expressly says that it reckoned 110 Sūras whereas there are only 105 in the list, the probability is that the list as we have it has been defectively written.

The second list is in the *Itqān* of as-Suyūṭī (ed. Calcutta,

¹⁾ In Ṭabari, *Annales*, I, 2963 the Sūra of Yūnus which is the Tenth Sūra in modern editions is called the Seventh as here. Schwally suggests a misprint in the text of Ṭabari of *السابعة* for *التاسعة*, but against this see Bauer in *ZDMG*, LXXV, 15.

²⁾ The text reads *القبر* which is the title of Sūra 54, but as this is given later under the title *أقرب السابعة* we must with Flügel, *Anmerkungen* 14 correct to *لقبر* which, as Schwally notes, is confirmed by the *Itqān*.

³⁾ *الحواميم* means the group of Sūras beginning with *حم* and is here doubtless but an introductory title to the group of six succeeding Sūras.

⁴⁾ This *سبح* which gave Schwally trouble and was also a puzzle to Flügel is clearly but part of the title of Sūra 59. There was a group of Sūras called *المسبحات* viz. Sūras 57, 59, 61, 62, 64 (See Bauer in *ZDMG*, LXXV, 16).

⁵⁾ *Fihrist* says that some gave 52 as coming before 51.

p. 151), quoting from Ibn Ashta a statement going back to Jarir b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid († 188), who related traditions from al-A'mash and others of Ibn Mas'ūd's school¹⁾. This list runs:

2, 4, 3, 7, 6, 5, 10, 9, 16, 11, 12, 18, 17, 21, 20, 23, 26, 37, 33, 22, 28, 27, 24, 8, 19, 29, 30, 36, 25, 15, 13, 34, 35, 14, 38, 47, 31, 39, 40, 43, 41, 42, 46, 45, 44, 48, 59, 32, 65, 68, 49, 67, 64, 63, 62, 61, 72, 71, 58, 60, 66, 55, 53, 52, 51, 54, 56, 79, 70, 74, 73, 83, 80, 76, 77, 75, 78, 81, 82, 88, 87, 92, 89, 85, 84, 96, 90, 93, 86, 100, 107, 101, 98, 91, 95, 104, 105, 106, 102, 97, 99, 103, 110, 108, 109, 111, 112, 94.

Here we find missing besides the expected 1, 113, 114, the Sūras 50, 57, 69, for whose omission no reason can be suggested save that they may have dropped out by scribal error. Well known variants are quoted from each of them and they are all in the list in the *Fihrist*. The two lists correspond sufficiently closely for us to supply the missing members of the one from the other, and we may treat them as variants of a common tradition as to the Sūra order in Ibn Mas'ūd's Codex.

The value of this tradition is another matter²⁾. It is not a priori likely that the arrangement of material in any of the rival Codices would have followed the same combination into Sūras as in the text established for 'Uthmān by Zaid b. Thābit. In the accounts of that official Recension we find bits of material coming in and the Committee considering the most appropriate place to put them, and it is against all probability that the composite Sūras made up of bits of Meccan and bits of Madīnan material, of very different date and provenance, would have been fitted in exactly the same way by different collectors. Neither is it likely that the different collectors would have chosen the same titles for the Sūras. The traditions as to the Sūra order, in the case of this and of other of the Old Codices, come from persons who were familiar with the 'Uthmānic Sūra order, but knew that the material was differently disposed in the other

¹⁾ Ibn Hajar *Tahdhīb*, II, 75—77.

²⁾ There is a statement in the *Fihrist*, p. 26 from Mḥd b. Ishāq, that there were many Codices in existence purporting to be exemplars of Ibn Mas'ūd's Codex, but no two of them agreed with one another. Ibn an-Nadīm claims to have seen a very old copy in which the *Fātiḥa* was included.

Codices, and so constructed a Sūra list to express the difference¹⁾.

The variant readings which follow are necessarily arranged according to the order of the present official text. Sometimes in the sources the variant is expressly said to come from the Codex of Ibn Mas'ūd. More often it is merely given as a reading (*ḥarf* or *qirā'ā*) of Ibn Mas'ūd. Occasionally also readings are given as coming from the Companions of Ibn Mas'ūd, but as these obviously represent the tradition as to his text they are included here. In view of the great importance of the readings of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubai, all readings from them that survive are included in the lists even where they do not depend on a different consonantal text from that of 'Uthmān. It has also seemed worth while to note the places where they are specially recorded as supporting the *textus receptus*.

¹⁾ An alternative theory is that when the 'Uthmānic text was in general currency the material in Ibn Mas'ūd's Codex was arranged in new copies made thereof under the Sūra headings of the 'Uthmānic text, though not in the same order. It is obvious, of course, that later writers using material from one of these Old Codices would quote it according to Sūra and verse of the 'Uthmānic text.

SŪRA I

4/3: مَالِك — He agreed with TR against the alternative reading

مَلِك which, however, some gave from him also.

6/5: إِهْدِنَا — أَرْشِدْنَا.

7/6: مَنْ — الَّذِينَ. So read also by Zaid b. 'Alī and Ibn az-Zubair.

7: غَيْرَ — غَيْرِ. So read by 'Alī and Ibn az-Zubair.

SŪRA II

2/1: تَنْزِيلٌ — ذَلِكَ, which involves الْكِتَاب.

7/6: غَشَوَةً — غَشَوَةٌ or some said غَشِيَةً. Given from Friends of Ibn Mas'ūd.

9/8: يَخْدَعُونَ — يَخْدِعُونَ. So read by Abū Ḥaiwa.

14/13: إِلَى شِيَاطِينِهِمْ — إِلَى شَيَْاطِينِهِمْ. So also Ubai.

17/16: فَأَصَابَتْ — فَلَمَّا أَصَابَتْ.

18/17: صُمًّا بِكُمْ عُمِيًّا — صُمًّا بِكُمْ عُمِيًّا. So read by Ibn Abī Ṭalḥa and Ḥafṣa.

20/19: يَخْتَفُتْ — يَخْتَفُتْ. Thus read by 'Alī.

كُلًّا مَا — كَلًّا. Purely orthographic variant.

مَرُّوا فِيهِ وَمَضُوا فِيهِ — مَشَوْا فِيهِ. See also Ubai's reading.

لَا ذَهَبَ — لَذَهَبَ, which makes the following بَاء a zā'ida.

23/21: أَنْزَلْنَاهُ عَلَى عَبْدِنَا — نَزَّلْنَاهُ عَلَى عَبْدِنَا.

24/22: أُعِيدَتْ — أُعِيدَتْ or أُعِيدَتْ.

25/23: مَطَهَّرَاتٌ - مَطَهَّرَةٌ. So read by Zaid b. 'Alī.

26/24: مَآ بَعُوضَةٌ - مَآ بَعُوضَةٌ, but others say he read بَعُوضَةٌ without و.

So read by Ru'ba b. al-'Ajjāj and others.

يُضِلُّ بِوَكْنٍ وَيُهْدِي بِوَكْنٍ - يُضِلُّ بِوَكْنٍ وَيُهْدِي بِوَكْنٍ. So Zaid b. 'Alī and Ubai.

مَا يُضِلُّ بِوَكْنٍ إِلَّا الْفَاسِقُونَ - مَا يُضِلُّ بِوَكْنٍ إِلَّا الْفَاسِقِينَ.

31/29: عَرَضَهُنَّ - عَرَضَهُنَّ. See also Ubai's reading.

32/30: مَا أَعْلَمْنَا - مَا أَعْلَمْنَا. See also Ubai.

36/34: فَوَسَّوَسَ لَهُمَا - فَآزَلَهُمَا. So read also by al-A'mash.

40/38: بَعَهْدِي - بَعَهْدِي. So read by Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif.

أَذْكُرُوا - أَذْكُرُوا.

42/39: تَكْتُمُونَ - تَكْتُمُونَ.

46/43: يَظُنُونَ - يَظُنُونَ.

48/45: لَا يُؤْخَذُ - لَا يُقْبَلُ.

49/46: يَقْتُلُونَ - يَذْبَحُونَ.

51/48: أَتَخْتَمُ - أَتَخْتَمُ with Idghām.

60/57: تَعِثُوا - تَعِثُوا.

61/58: فَنَائِمًا - فَنَائِمًا. So Qatāda, Ibn Waṭṭhāb and others.

ثَوْمَهَا - ثَوْمَهَا. As read by 'Alqama and Ibn 'Abbās.

مِصْرًا - مِصْرًا. So Ubai, al-A'mash and al-Ḥasan. It was also written thus in some of the 'Uthmānic Codices.

وَنَذَكَّرُوا - وَنَذَكَّرُوا or some said وَنَذَكَّرُوا.

سَلَّ - أَدْعَ.

70/65: الْبَاقِرَ - الْبَاقِرَ. So read by Ubai, 'Ikrima and Yaḥyā b. Ya'mar.

مُشَابَهَ or يَشَابَهَ or تَشَابَهَ which latter was the reading of al-Ḥasan and al-A'mash.

72/67: فَتَدَارَتْهُمْ - فَتَدَارَتْهُمْ. Read thus by Abū Ḥaiwa.

74/69: قَسَا - قَسَا. So read by Ubai and Zaid b. 'Alī.

قَسَاوَةً - قَسَاوَةً. So also Zaid b. 'Alī.

83/77: يَعْبُدُونَ or يَعْبُدُوا or يَعْبُدُوا - يَعْبُدُونَ.

حَسَنًا - حَسَنًا, supporting the reading of Ḥamza, al-Kisā'i and Ya'qūb.

تَوَلَّوْا عَنْهُ (Al-A'mash (?)). تَوَلَّوْا - تَوَلَّيْتُمْ.

قَلِيلٌ - قَلِيلٌ, a reading which some gave from Abū 'Amr also.

85/79: طَوْبَقًا - فَرِيقًا.

وَأِنْ يُوْخَذُوا تَفْدُوهُمْ - وَأِنْ يَأْتُوْكُمْ أَسْرَى تُفْدُوهُمْ. So read also by Al-A'mash.

مَنْ فَعَلَ - مَنْ يَفْعَلُ.

87/81: أَفَكَّلَ مَا - أَفَكَّلَهَا. Purely orthographical variant.

89/83: مُصَدِّقًا - مُصَدِّقًا. So given in Ubai's Codex.

96/90: بِمُزَحَّجَةٍ - بِمُزَحَّجَةٍ.

100/94: نَقَضَهُ - نَبَذَهُ.

عَوَّهَلُوا - عَوَّهَلُوا. So read also by al-Ḥasan.

101/95: مُصَدِّقًا - مُصَدِّقًا. Thus also Ibn Abī 'Abla.

102/96: هُمَا بِضَارَيْنَ - هُمَا بِضَارَيْنَ.

104/98: أَرْعُونَا or some said رَاعُونَا - رَاعُونَا.

105/99: وَلَا الْمُشْرِكُونَ - وَلَا الْمُشْرِكِينَ. So read by Abū'l-'Āliya and al-A'mash also.

106/100: مَا نُنْسِكُ مِنْ - مَا نَنْسَخُ مِنْ آيَةٍ أَوْ نُنْسِهَا أَوْ نُنْخِصُ مِنْهَا أَوْ نُنْزِلُهَا. آيَةٍ أَوْ نَنْسَخُهَا بِمِثْلِهَا.

108/102: سَأَلَ - سَأَلَ, making Mūsā the one who asked.

111/105: تَهْودِيًّا أَوْ نَصْرَانِيًّا. Some say that he here read تَهْودِيًّا أَوْ نَصْرَانِيًّا as Ubai.

114/108: خَائِفًا - خَائِفًا. (Ibn Khālawaili 155 wrongly gives it as حَتَفًا).

- 119/113: وَلَنْ تُسْأَلَ - وَلَا تُسْأَلَ.
 123/117: لَا تُغْنِي - لَا تُجْزِي.
 124/118: الظَّالِمُونَ - الظَّالِمِينَ.
 127/121: يَقُولَانِ رَبَّنَا - رَبَّنَا.
 128/122: أَرَاهُمْ مَنَاسِكَهُمْ وَتُبَّ عَلَيْهِمْ - أَرَانَا مَنَاسِكَنَا وَتُبَّ عَلَيْنَا.
 132/126: أَوْصَى - He agrees with the Ḥafṣ text against the of the Syrian and Madinan Codices.
 137/131: بِمَا - بِبَيْتٍ مَا. As read also by ad-Ḍaḥḥāk.
 139/133: أَتَحَاجُّونَنَا - أَتَحَاجُّونَنَا. So read by Ibn Muḥaiṣin and Abū's-Sammāl.
 144/139: شَطْرُهُ - قِبَلُهُ (?) see Ubai's reading here.
 148/143: وَلِكُلِّ جَعَلْنَا قِبْلَةً يَرْضَوْنَهَا - وَلِكُلِّ وَجْهَةٌ هُوَ مُوَلِّيْهَا. Maṣṣūr from Ibn Mas'ūd.
 149/144: قَوْلٍ - قَوْلٍ.
 150/145: أَيْنَمَا - حَيْثُ مَا.
 158/153: أَنْ لَا - أَنْ. Similarly in Ubai's Codex.
 159/154: يَطُوفَ - يَطُوفَ. So Ubai, Ibn 'Abbās and Mujāhid.
 162/157: يُنْظَرُونَ - يُنْظَرُونَ.
 177/172: لَيْسَ الْبِرُّ - لَيْسَ الْبِرُّ, as read by all save the Kūfans. Al-A'mash, however, said that Ibn Mas'ūd read لَا تَحْسِبَنَّ الْبِرَّ and Ibn Abī Dāwūd gives it as لَا تَحْسِبَنَّ أَنَّ الْبِرَّ.
 178/173: بَلَاءٌ - بَلَاءٌ. As read also by Ubai.
 179/174: قِيلَ - قِيلَ.
 180/175: وَالْمُؤْمِنِينَ - وَالْمُؤْمِنِينَ.

- 181/176: بِعُهُودِهِمْ - بِعُهُودِهِمْ. So Ubai.
 178/173: الْفَصَصُ - الْفَصَصُ. So Abū'l-Āliya.
 182/178: فَاتَّبَعَ - فَاتَّبَعَ taking it as a verb, so read by Mu'adh and Ibn Abī 'Abla.
 184/180: أَيَّامٌ مَعْدُودَاتٌ - أَيَّامًا مَعْدُودَاتٍ. So Ibn Dharr read.
 185/181: أُخْرَى - أُخْرَى.
 186/182: تَطَوَّعَ بِخَيْرٍ - تَطَوَّعَ خَيْرًا.
 187/183: الرَّفُوتُ - الرَّفُوتُ.
 191/187: وَلَا تَقْتُلُوهُمْ عِنْدَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ حَتَّى يَقْتُلُوَكُمْ فِيهِ فَإِنْ قَتَلْتُمْ - وَلَا تَقْتُلُوهُمْ عِنْدَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ حَتَّى يَقْتُلُوَكُمْ فِيهِ فَإِنْ قَتَلْتُمْ, which was the reading of Ḥamza and al-Kisā'i.
 196/192: أَقْبَسُوا - أَقْبَسُوا. So read by 'Alī and 'Alqama.
 197/193: فَلَا رُفُوتٌ وَلَا فُسُوقٌ وَلَا جِدَالٌ - فَلَا رَفَتْ وَلَا فُسُوقٌ وَلَا جِدَالٌ. Similarly 'Alī read لِلْيَسْتِ وَالْعُمْرَةُ إِلَى الْيَسْتِ - وَالْعُمْرَةُ لِلَّهِ which some gave from Ibn Mas'ūd.
 197/193: فَلَا رُفُوتٌ وَلَا فُسُوقٌ وَلَا جِدَالٌ - فَلَا رَفَتْ وَلَا فُسُوقٌ وَلَا جِدَالٌ. وَخَيْرُ الزَّادِ التَّقْوَى - فَإِنَّ خَيْرَ الزَّادِ التَّقْوَى.
 198/194: مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ فِي مَوَاسِمِ الْحَجِّ - مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ. Abū 'Ubaid said he added and Ibn Abī Dāwūd says he read لَا جَنَاحَ عَلَيْكُمْ أَنْ تَبْتَغُوا فَضْلًا مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ فِي مَوَاسِمِ الْحَجِّ فَإِنْ تَبْتَغُوا فَضْلًا مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ.
 202/198: نَصِيبٌ مِمَّا كَسَبُوا - نَصِيبٌ مِمَّا كَسَبُوا. So read by al-A'mash also.
 203/199: لِمَنْ آتَى اللَّهَ - لِمَنْ آتَى اللَّهَ.
 204/200: وَيَشْهَدُ اللَّهُ - وَيَشْهَدُ اللَّهُ, as the reading of Ubai.
 210/206: ظِلَالٍ - ظِلَالٍ. As Qatāda, Abū Ja'far and ad-Ḍaḥḥāk. Ibn Abī Dāwūd, however, says he read as Ubai أَنْ يَأْتِيَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَالْمَلَائِكَةُ فِي ظِلِّ مِنَ الْغَمَامِ.

- فَضَاءُ الْأَمْرِ - فُضِيَ الْأَمْرُ. i. e. with *idāfa*. So Ubai.
- 212/208: زُيِّنَتْ - زُيِّنَتْ. As Ibn Abī 'Abla. See also Ubai's reading.
- 213/209: أُمَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ فَأَخْتَلَفُوا - أُمَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ. Likewise Ubai.
- عَلَى الْإِسْلَامِ. Tabarī adds عَنْهُ مِنَ الْحَقِّ - فِيهِ مِنَ الْحَقِّ.
- 214/210: وَزَلْزَلُوا فَزَلْزَلُوا (و) يَقُولُ حَقِيقَةُ الرَّسُولِ - وَزَلْزَلُوا حَتَّى يَقُولَ الرَّسُولُ: وَزَلْزَلُوا ثُمَّ زَلْزَلُوا وَيَقُولُ others.
- 217/214: قِتَالٌ - قِتَالٌ. So read also by al-A'mash.
- 219/216: كَبِيرٌ - كَبِيرٌ, which was the reading of Ḥamza and al-Kisā'i.
- أَكْثَرٌ - أَكْثَرٌ. Note Ubai's reading.
- 222: يَطْهَرْنَ - يَطْهَرْنَ. So Ubai.
- 226: أَلَوْ - يُؤْلُونَ. Note Ubai's variant here.
- فَأَوْا فِيهِنَّ - فَأَدُو. See also Ubai.
- 228: بَرَدْنَهُنَّ - بَرَدْنَهُنَّ. Which was Ubai's reading also.
- 229: نَخَافُوا أَنْ - نَخَافُوا. Some, however, said he read بِخَافَا.
- لَا يُقِيمُوا حُقُوقَ.
- 233: يُكَمِّلُ الرِّضَاعَةَ - يُتِمُّ الرِّضَاعَةَ. As Ibn 'Abbās.
- تَضَارَّرَ - تَضَارَّرَ. So read by 'Umar, al-Ḥasan and Abān b. 'Uthmān.
- وَعَلَى الْوَارِثِ ذِي الرَّحْمِ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ - وَعَلَى الْوَارِثِ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ.
- 236/237: مَنْ قَبْلَ أَنْ تُجَامِعُوهُنَّ - مَا لَمْ تَمَسُوهُنَّ.
- 237/238: تُجَامِعُوهُنَّ - تَمَسُوهُنَّ.
- 238/239: وَعَلَى الصَّلَاةِ - وَالصَّلَاةِ.
- 240/241: كُتِبَ - وَالَّذِينَ يَتَوَفَّوْنَ مِنْكُمْ وَيَذَرُونَ أَزْوَاجًا وَرِصَّةً لِأَزْوَاجِهِمْ.
- عَلَيْكُمْ الْوَصِيَّةُ لِأَزْوَاجِكُمْ. See also Ubai.
- 241/242: لِلْمُطَلَّغَةِ - لِلْمُطَلَّغَاتِ. As Ubai.
- 249/250: إِلَّا قَلِيلٌ - إِلَّا قَلِيلًا, which was the reading of Ubai and al-A'mash.

- 253/254: مِنْ بَعْدِهِمْ - مِنْ بَعْدِهِمْ, as 'Amr b. 'Ubaid. A purely orthographic variant.
- 255/256: الْقِيَامُ - الْقِيَامُ. It was the reading of 'Umar and 'Alqama.
- السَّمَوَاتُ وَالْأَرْضُ وَسِعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ - وَسِعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ which involves كُرْسِيَّةُ.
- 257/259: الطَّوَاغِيثُ - الطَّوَاغِيثُ. So read also by al-Ḥasan.
- 259/261: وَهَذَا شَرَابُكَ لَمْ يَنْسَنَ - وَشَرَابُكَ لَمْ يَنْسَنَ though some say وَهَذَا طَعَامُكَ وَشَرَابُكَ لَمْ يَنْسَنَ, and others that he read as Ubai here.
- قِيلَ أَعْلَمَ - قِيلَ أَعْلَمَ, as Ubai and al-A'mash.
- 260/262: قَالِ أَوْ لَمْ - قِيلَ أَوْ لَمْ, and also قِيلَ فَخُذْ instead of قَالِ فَخُذْ.
- فَصَرُّهُمْ - فَصَرُّهُمْ, which was the reading of Ḥamza, Ya'qūb, al-A'mash and Abū Ja'far.
- 266/268: عَنَبَ - أَعْنَابَ. So read by Ya'qūb.
- 267/269: تَأَمَّعُوا - تَتَمَّعُوا.
- 267/270: تَغْمِضُوا - تَغْمِضُوا. So read by 'Āṣim al-Jahḍarī.
- 271/273: فَنَعِمَ مَا - فَنَعِمَ مَا.
- وَيَكْفُرُ - وَيَكْفُرُ without و.
- 275/276: لَا يَقُومُونَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ - لَا يَقُومُونَ, though some place the addition الهمس after the word الْقِيَامَةِ.
- 279: فَأَقْبَنُوا - فَأَذْنُوا. So read also by al-Ḥasan.
- 280: ذُو - ذَا, as in the Codices of Ubai and 'Uthmān.
- فَنَظَرُوهُ - فَنَظَرُوهُ. Though some say the reading was فَنَظَرُوهُ.
- مَيْسُورٍ - مَيْسُورٍ.
- تَتَصَدَّقُوا - تَتَصَدَّقُوا.
- 281: تُرْجَعُونَ - تُرْجَعُونَ.
- 282: فَتَذَكَّرَهَا الْآخَرَى - فَتَذَكَّرَ إِحْدَهُمَا الْآخَرَى.

بُضَارٌ, the reading of 'Umar, and ad-Ḍaḥḥāk, but some said he read بَضْرٌ.

283: فَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ عَلَى سَفَرٍ فَلَمْ - وَإِنْ كُنْتُمْ عَلَى سَفَرٍ وَلَمْ:

كُتِبَا (a plural form).

284: يَغْدِبُ - يَغْفِرُ, as the reading of al-A'mash, so يَغْدِبُ.

285: وَآَمَنَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ - وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ, so read by 'Alī.

رَكَابِهِ وَلِقَائِهِ وَرُسُلِهِ - كُتِبِهِ وَرُسُلِهِ.

تَفَرَّقَ, though others say he read تَفَرَّقَ as did Abū Razīn.

SŪRA III

2/1: الْقِيَوْمُ as in II, 255/256.

3/2: أَنْزَلَ - نَزَلَ.

7/5: وَإِنْ تَأْوِيلُهُ إِلَّا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ - وَمَا يَعْلَمُ تَأْوِيلَهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ: or others say وإن حقيقة تأويله إلا عند الله.

13/11: يَرْوَنَّهُمْ - يَرْوَنَّهُمْ, as read by 'Ikrima, Ṭalḥa and others.

18/16: شَهِدَ اللَّهُ - شَهِدَهُ اللَّهُ, as Ubai, Ibn as-Samaifa and al-Jahdārī. أَنْ لَا - أَنَّهُ لَا.

الْقَائِمُ - قَائِمًا.

19/17: الْحَنِيفَةَ - الْإِسْلَامَ. See also Ubai's reading here.

21/20: قَاتِلُوا الَّذِينَ - يَقْتُلُونَ الَّذِينَ. So read by al-A'mash. See also Ubai's reading.

30/28: وَدَّتْ - تَوَدَّتْ. So read by Ibn Abī 'Abla.

33/30: ءَالِ مُحَمَّدٍ - ءَالِ عِمْرَانَ, a reading also given from the Imāms of Ahl al-Bait.

37/32: كُلُّ مَا - كُلَّمَا a purely orthographic variant.

فَنَادَاهُ جَبْرِيلُ - فَنَادَتْهُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ وَهُوَ قَائِمٌ يُصَلِّي فِي الْمِحْرَابِ: 39/33. It is to be noted that Ibn 'Abbās and some of the Seven read فَنَادَاهُ. Some said he read يُبَشِّرُكَ for يُبَشِّرُكَ in v. 34.

42/37: قَالَتْ - قَالَ. So read by 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar.

43/38: وَارْكَبْ فِي السَّاجِدِينَ - وَارْكَبْ وَارْكَبْ مَعَ الرَّاكِبِينَ.

45/40: لِيُبَشِّرَكَ - لِيُبَشِّرَكَ. Cf. v. 33.

وَكَالَتْ - إِذْ قَالَتْ (perhaps وَقَالَ as in v. 37).

48/43: وَنَعْلِهِ - وَنَعْلِهِ. So Ḥamza and al-Kisā'i.

49/43: لَا يَأْتِ لآيَاتٍ, likewise لَا يَأْتِ for لَا يَأْتِ.

فَأَنفَخُهَا - فَأَنفَخُهَا, though some thought this was the reading of Ubai.

فَتَكُونُ - فَيَكُونُ. So read also by Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif.

50/44: وَجَنَّتُكُمْ بِآيَاتٍ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا: رَّبِّكُمْ فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ لِمَا جَنَّتُكُمْ بِهِ مِنْ آيَاتِهِ وَأَطِيعُوا فِيمَا أَدْعُوكُمْ إِلَيْهِ.

57/50: فَأَمَّا - وَأَمَّا.

فَيُؤْتِيهِمْ - فَأُوتِيَهُمْ. So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Alī.

64/57: عَدَلٍ - سَوَاءٍ.

73/66: إِنْ يُؤْتَى - أَنْ يُؤْتَى. So Ṭalḥa and al-Jahdārī.

عِنْدَ اللَّهِ - يَدِ اللَّهِ.

74/67: يَخْتَصُّ - يَخْتَصُّ.

75/68: تَامِمَةً - تَامِمَةً. So Ibn Waththāb and al-Ashhab in what was said to be Tamīm dialect. See also Ubai's reading.

(أَوْفَى) (i. e. from يُوَفِّيهِ - (bis) يُؤَدِّيهِ).

وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ إِنْ تَامِمَهُ. Omitted in his Codex.

79/73: تَدْرُسُونَ - تَدْرُسُونَ. So Ibn 'Abbās and Ṭalḥa.

- 80/74: **وَأَنْ يَأْمُرَكُمْ - وَلَا يَأْمُرَكُمْ**.
 81/75: **الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ - النَّبِيِّينَ**. So Ubai and Mujāhid.
مُصَدِّقًا - مُصَدِّقٌ, as in II, 95.
 91/85: **كُو - وَلَوْ**. So read by Ubai and Ibn Abi 'Abla
 92/86: **بَعْضَ مَا - مِمَّا**.
 101/96: **يُطْلَى - تَطْلَى**. So al-Ḥasan and al-A'mash.
 104/100: **وَلَيْكِنْ - وَلَتَكُنْ**. So read by Abū Nahik and Abū'l-Mutawakkil.
الْمُنْكَرِ وَيَسْتَعِينُونَ بِاللَّهِ عَلَى مَا أَصَابَهُمْ وَأُولَئِكَ - الْمُنْكَرِ وَأُولَئِكَ.
 So 'Uthmān and Ibn az-Zubair.
 105/101: **جَاءَهُمْ - جَاءَهُمْ**.
 111/107: **يُنْصَرُونَ - يُنْصَرُونَ**. So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Alī.
 118/114: **بَدَا - بَدَتْ**.
 120/116: **يُصْنَعُكُمْ فَرَحٌ - تَمَسُّكُمْ**. cf. v. 166.
 121/117: **نُبَوِّىَ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ - نُبَوِّىَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ**.
 122/118: **وَلَهُمَا - وَلَهُمَا**.
 133/127: **وَسَارِعُوا - وَسَارِعُوا**. Likewise Ubai.
 144/138: **رُسُلٌ - الرُّسُلُ**. So read by Ḥiṭṭān b. 'Abdallāh, and Ibn 'Abbās.
 146/140: **فُقِلَ - قُتِلَ**. The reading of Ibn Kathīr and Nāfi'. But some said he read **قَدْ قُتِلَ** as Ṭalḥa. See also the reading of Ubai and Ibn 'Abbās.
رُسُيُونَ - رُسُيُونَ. So 'Alī, Ibn 'Abbās, al-Ḥasan and others.
 156/150: **بَصِيرٌ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ - بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ بَصِيرٌ**.
 161/155: **يُغْلَى - يُغْلَى**, which was the reading of Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir, Ḥamza, al-Kisā'i and Ya'qūb.
 169/163: **فَاتَلُوا - قَاتَلُوا**. So read also by Ubai.

- 171/165: **وَاللَّهُ - وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ**.
 172/166: **الْفَرْحُ - الْفَرْحُ**. So Mu'adh and Ibn Abi Lailā.
 175/169: **يُخَوِّفُكُمْ - يُخَوِّفُ أَوْلِيَاءَهُ**. So Ibn 'Abbās, 'Ikrima, and 'Aṭā'.
 See also Ubai's reading here.
 181/177: **سَيُكْتَبُ - سَيُكْتَبُ**. So read by al-Ḥasan.
يَقُولُونَ - قَالُوا. So Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif.
يُقَالُ لَهُمْ and some **نَقُولُ لَهُمْ** though some said **يُقَالُ** - **نَقُولُ**.
 187/184: **وَإِذْ أَخَذَ رَبُّكُمْ مِنْ - وَإِذْ أَخَذَ اللَّهُ مِيثَاقَ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ**.
 though some said that instead of **الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ** he read **النَّبِيِّينَ**.
لَتَمِينُونَهُ - لَتَمِينُونَهُ.
 188/185: **فَبَيْنَ أَيْ فَاجِشَةً فَعَلِيهِ - بِهَا أَتَوْا**.
 omitted in his Codex.

SURA IV

- 1: **تَسْأَلُونَ - تَسْأَلُونَ**. So read also by al-A'mash.
وَبِالْأَرْحَامِ - وَالْأَرْحَامِ. So al-A'mash.
 6/5: **أَحْسَبْتُمْ - أَحْسَبْتُمْ** or some said **أَحْسَبْتُمْ** and others **أَحْسَبْتُمْ** (though these doubtful).
رُشْدًا - رُشْدًا. So as-Sulamī and 'Isā ath-Thaqafī.
 9/10: **ضَعُفَاءَ - ضَعُفَاءَ**. So read by 'Alī. Others say he read **ضُعَايَ**.
 See also Ubai's reading here.
 10/11: He read this verse **يَا كُلُّ فِي**
بَطْنِهِ نَارًا وَسَوْفَ يَصْلَى سَعِيرًا.
 15/19: **بِالْفَاحِشَةِ - الْفَاحِشَةِ**.
 16/20: **وَالَّذِينَ يَفْعَلُونَهُ - وَالَّذِينَ يَفْعَلُونَهُ**.
 19/23: **وَلَا أَنْ تَعْضُلُوهُمْ - وَلَا تَعْضُلُوهُمْ**.

أَنْ يَفْعُشْنَ - أَنْ يَأْتِينَ بِفَعْشَةٍ. Involving the omission of
... See also Ubai's reading here.

20/24: فَنَطَارًا مِنْ ذَهَبٍ - فَنَطَارًا.

23/27: الالَى - الَّتِي.

- وَرَبَّيْكُمْ الَّتِي فِي حُجُورِكُمْ مِنْ نِسَائِكُمُ الَّتِي دَخَلْتُمْ فِيهَا
وَرَبَّائِكُمُ الَّلَايِ دَخَلْتُمْ بِأَهْلِيهَا.

24/28: وَالْمُحْصَنَاتُ - He agreed with TR against the alternative
وَالْمُحْصَنَاتُ.

وَأَحِلَّ لَكُمْ - وَأَحِلَّ لَكُمْ.

وَمِنْهُمْ إِلَى أَجَلٍ مُسَمًّى - مِنْهُمْ. So Ubai and Ibn 'Abbās.

25/30: أَحْصَنَ - أَحْصَنَ. The reading of Ḥamza, al-Kisā'i, Khalaf
and al-Ḥasan.

34/38: فَالْمُصَوِّلُ قَوَائِدَ حَوَائِظَ - فَالْمُصَلِّحَةُ قَنِتَتْ حَفِظَتْ الْغَيْبَ
لِلْغَيْبِ. So Ṭalḥa.

فَأَصْلَحُوا إِلَيْهِنَّ وَالَّتِي - اللَّهُ وَالَّتِي.

الْمُضْجَعِ - الْمَضْجَعِ. So ash-Sha'bī and an-Nakha'ī. See
also Ubai's reading.

37/41: بِالْبَخْلِ - بِالْبَخْلِ, supporting the reading of Ḥamza and
al-Kisā'i.

40/44: نَمَلَةٍ - ذَرَّةٍ.

43/46: سُكْرَى - سُكْرَى. So Sa'īd b. Jubair and al-A'mash. See
also Ubai's reading.

مِنْ غَيْطٍ - مِنْ الْغَيْطِ. So az-Zuhri. Some say he read

نِسَاءَكُمْ - النِّسَاءَ.

فَأَمَّا - فَنَبِّهُوا.

46/48: وَمِنَ الَّذِينَ - مِنَ الَّذِينَ.

53/56: فَإِذَا لَا يُؤْتُونَ - فَإِذَا لَا يُؤْتُونَ. As Ibn 'Abbās, though some
said he read يَأْتُونَ.

55/58: صَدَّ - صَدَّ (Pass.). So read also by Ibn 'Abbās, 'Ikrima,
and al-Jahḍarī. See also Ubai's reading here.

56/59: كُلِّ مَا - كُلِّهَا. A purely orthographic variant.

57/60: سَيَدْخُلُهُمْ - سَيَدْخُلُهُمْ. So Ibn Waththāb and an-Nakha'ī.

59/62: وَإِلَى الرَّسُولِ - وَالرَّسُولِ.

60/63: يَهَا - يَهَا. So read by 'Abbās b. al-Faḍl.

66/69: قَلِيلًا - قَلِيلًا as in the Codices of Anas, Ubai and that of
Damascus.

74/76: فَسَوَّيْتِهِ - فَسَوَّيْتِهِ.

75/77: أَخْرَجْنَا مِنَ الْفَرَقَةِ الَّتِي - أَخْرَجْنَا مِنْ هَذِهِ الْفَرَقَةِ الظَّالِمِ أَهْلَهَا
كَانَتْ ظَالِمَةً.

79/81: وَإِنَّا كَتَبْنَاهَا عَلَيْكَ وَأَرْسَلْنَاكَ - وَأَرْسَلْنَاكَ as Ubai, but others
said وَإِنَّا قَضَيْنَاهَا عَلَيْكَ وَأَرْسَلْنَاكَ and yet others
وَأَرْسَلْنَاكَ which was given as the reading of Ibn 'Abbās.

81/83: بَيْتَ طَائِفَةٍ مِنْهُمْ - بَيْتَ طَائِفَةٍ مِنْهُمْ.

84/86: مِنْ بَأْسٍ - بَأْسٍ.

يَكْفَى - يَكْفَى. So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Alī.

88/90: رَكْسَهُمْ - رَكْسَهُمْ or some said رَكْسَهُمْ. See also the reading
of Ubai.

91/93: رَكْسُوا - رَكْسُوا or some said رَكْسُوا.

92/94: وَمَا يَكُونُ - وَمَا كَانَ.

يَتَصَدَّقُوا - يَتَصَدَّقُوا. So Ubai.

مُتَّبِعَاتٍ - مُتَّبِعَاتٍ. Likewise Ubai.

94/96: مُؤْمِنًا - مُؤْمِنًا. So Ibn 'Abbās and Mḥd b. 'Alī (i. e. Mḥd
b. al-Ḥanafīyya).

64/69: بُسْطَانٍ - بُسْطَانٍ (which some wrote بُسْطَانٍ) or بُسْطَانٍ or بُسْطَانٍ.

كُلِّ مَا - كَلِّمَا a purely orthographic variant.

67/71: مِنْ رَبِّكَ إِنَّ عَلَيْنَا مَوْلىَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ - مِنْ رَبِّكَ, a Shī'a reading.

69/73: يَا أَيُّهَا - يَا أَيُّهَا. So Ubai.

وَالصَّابِرِينَ - وَالصَّابِرِينَ. So Ubai and others. It does not fit, however, with يَا أَيُّهَا.

70/74: كَلِّ مَا - كَلِّمَا a purely orthographic variant.

79/82: يَتَنَاهَوْنَ - يَتَنَاهَوْنَ. So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Alī.

89/91: عَقِدْتِ الْإِيمَانَ - عَقِدْتِ الْإِيمَانَ. So Abū 'l-Āliya and Ibn Waththāb.

أَيَّامٍ مُتَبَاعَاتٍ - أَيَّامٍ. So Ubai.

95/96: فَجَزَاهُ مِثْلُ - فَجَزَاهُ مِثْلُ.

107/106: الْأَوَّلِينَ - الْأَوَّلِينَ. So Ibn 'Abbās. It was the reading of Ḥamza and Ya'qūb. See also the reading of Ubai.

114: تَكُنْ - تَكُنْ. So read by al-A'mash.

115: قَالَ سَأُنْزِلُهَا - قَالَ اللَّهُ إِنِّي مُنْزِلُهَا.

118: فَعِبَادُكَ - فَعِبَادُكَ.

الْعَزِيزُ الْغَفُورُ - الْعَزِيزُ الْغَفُورُ or others say الْعَزِيزُ الْغَفُورُ.

SURA VI

16: يَصْرِفُ اللَّهُ - يَصْرِفُ. So Ubai.

19: وَإِنِّي - وَإِنِّي.

23: ثُمَّ لَمْ تَكُنْ فَنَبَغْهُمْ - وَمَا كَانَ فَنَبَغْهُمْ as Ubai and al-A'mash.

Others, however, say he read ثُمَّ مَا كَانَ.

25: وَفَرَا - وَفَرَا. So read by Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif.

27: فَلَا تُكْذِبْ - وَلَا تُكْذِبْ. So Mu'adh and Zaid b. 'Alī. Some said that he added أَبَدًا like Ubai.

50: مَلِكٌ - مَلِكٌ. So Sa'īd b. Jubair, 'Ikrima and al-Jahḍarī.

52: بِالْعُدُوِّ - بِالْعُدُوِّ. So Abū 'l-Āliya.

56: ضَلَلْتُ - ضَلَلْتُ which was the reading of Qatāda, Ṭalḥa and Abū 'l-Āliya.

57: يَقْضَى بِالْحَقِّ - يَقْضَى بِالْحَقِّ. So Ubai and an-Nakha'ī.

أَسْرَعَ - خَيْرٌ.

61: يَتَوَقَّاهُ - يَتَوَقَّاهُ. So read by al-A'mash.

63: خِفَةَ - خِفَةَ. So Zaid b. 'Alī and Abū 'l-Mutawakkil.

71/70: نَزَّادٌ - نَزَّادٌ.

أَسْتَهْوَاهُ الشَّيْطَانُ - أَسْتَهْوَاهُ الشَّيْطَانُ. So Ubai and others.

أَتَيْنَا - أَتَيْنَا, as Ibn 'Abbās, though some say he read أَتَيْنَا.

93: يَقُولُونَ أَخْرِجُوا - أَخْرِجُوا.

الْهَوَانِ - الْهَوَانِ. Which was the reading of 'Ikrima also.

94: شُرَكَاءُ كُمُ الَّذِينَ رَعَيْتُمْ أَنَّهُمْ فِيكُمْ شُرَكَاءُ - شُرَكَاءُ كُمُ الَّذِينَ رَعَيْتُمْ أَنَّهُمْ فِيكُمْ شُرَكَاءُ.

تَقَطَّعَ مَا بَيْنَكُمْ - تَقَطَّعَ بَيْنَكُمْ. So al-A'mash and Mujāhid.

95: فَلَقَى الْحَبَّ - فَلَقَى الْحَبَّ. So read by al-A'mash.

99: يُخْرِجُ مِنْهُ حَبًّا - يُخْرِجُ مِنْهُ حَبًّا, the reading also of al-A'mash.

جَنَّتْ - جَنَّتْ. As 'Alī, al-A'mash and others.

أَنْظُرُوا - أَنْظُرُوا. So Ubai.

100: وَجَعَلُوا لِلَّهِ شُرَكَاءَ مِنَ الْإِنِّ - وَجَعَلُوا لِلَّهِ شُرَكَاءَ مِنَ الْإِنِّ وَخَلَقَهُمْ وَهُوَ خَلَقَهُمْ.

105: وَلِيَقُولُوا - وَلِيَقُولُوا with omission of وَ.

دَرَسَتْ - دَرَسَتْ, but some said دَرَسَتْ and others دَرَسَتْ.

لِيَمِينِهِ - لِيَمِينِهِ.

- وَمَا يُشْعِرُهُمْ إِذَا جَاءَهُمْ - وَمَا يُشْعِرُكُمْ أَنَّهَا إِذَا جَاءَتْ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ : 109
أَنَّهُمْ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ.
- 111: قِيلًا - قِيلًا. So read by Ubai and Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif.
- 125: يَتَصَعَّدُ - يَتَصَعَّدُ. So Ṭalḥa and Abū Nahik. See also Ubai's reading.
- 136/137: لَشُرَكَائِهِمْ - لَشُرَكَائِنَا.
- 138/139: حَرْجٌ - حَرْجٌ. So read by Ubai, Ibn 'Abbās and others.
- 139/140: خَالِصٌ - خَالِصَةٌ. So Ibn 'Abbās and al-A'mash. Others said خَالِصَةٌ as was also given from Ibn 'Abbās and al-A'mash.
فِيهَا سَوَاءٌ - فِيهِ شُرَكَاءُ.
- 145/146: طَعْمُهُ - طَعْمُهُ. So Ubai. Some friends of Ibn Mas'ūd read طَعْمُهُ, as did 'Ā'isha.
أَهْلٌ بِهِ لِيُغَيِّرَ اللَّهُ - أَهْلٌ لِيُغَيِّرَ اللَّهُ بِهِ.
- 148/149: وَلَوْ شَاءَ - وَلَوْ شَاءَ.
- 153/154: وَهَذَا صِرَاطُ رَبِّكُمْ - وَأَنَّ هَذَا صِرَاطِي, though some said وَهَذَا. See Ubai.
- 154/155: الَّذِينَ أَحْسَنُوا - الَّذِينَ أَحْسَنَ. See also Ubai's reading.
- 158/159: آيَةٍ - آيَةٍ (bis) بَعْضُ آيَاتِ مُحَمَّدٍ. So read by Ubai and Ja'far b. Muḥammad.
- 159/160: فَرَقُوا. He supported Ḥaṣṣ against the فَرَقُوا of Ḥamza, al-Kisā'i, 'Alī and al-Ḥasan.

SŪRA VII

- 20/19: أَوْرَى - وَرَى.
- 23/22: قَالُوا رَبَّنَا آلا تُغْفِرُ - فَلَا رَبَّنَا ظَلَمْنَا أَنْفُسَنَا إِنَّمَا تَغْفِرُ لَنَا وَتَرْحَمُنَا. لَنَا وَتَرْحَمُنَا.
- 26/25: خَيْرٌ - ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ. So read also by Ubai.

- 34/32: أَجَاهُمْ - أَجَاهُمْ. So Ubai and 'Isā ath-Thaqafi.
- 38/36: إِذَا تَذَكَّرُوا - إِذَا تَذَكَّرُوا. So Ubai. Some said he read إِذَا تَذَكَّرُوا.
- 40/38: الْجَمَلُ الْأَصْفَرُ, but some said الْجَمَلُ الْأَصْنَرُ - الْجَمَلُ, others الْجَمَلُ or الْجَمَلُ.
- سَمٌ - سَمٌ. So Qatāda and Abū Razīn.
- الْمَخِيطُ - الْمَخِيطُ. So Abū Razīn and Ṭalḥa.
- 47/45: قُلَيْتٌ - صُرِفَتْ. So al-A'mash and Sālim.
- 57/55: نُشْرًا - نُشْرًا, the reading of Ibn 'Āmir, al-Ḥasan and Qatāda.
- 105/103: بَانَ - بَانَ, though some said that he read بَانَ as Ubai.
- 127/124: يَذْرَكَ - يَذْرَكَ, like Anas and Nu'aim b. Maisara. See also Ubai's reading which some gave from Ibn Mas'ūd here.
إِلَهَيْكَ - إِلَهَيْكَ. As al-Ḥasan, 'Alī and others.
- 128/125: يُورِثُهَا - يُورِثُهَا. So read by al-Ḥasan and Ibn Waththāb.
الْعَاقِبَةُ - الْعَاقِبَةُ. It was Ubai's reading also.
- 137/133: بَصْنَعٌ - بَصْنَعٌ.
- 145/142: بِأَحْسَنِهَا - بِأَحْسَنِهَا.
- 148/146: حُلِيمٌ - حُلِيمٌ, the reading of Ḥamza, al-Kisā'i and others.
By some it is given as the reading of the Friends of Ibn Mas'ūd.
- 149/148: رَبَّنَا - رَبَّنَا, the reading of Ḥamza, al-Kisā'i and others.
- 154/153: صَبَرٌ - صَبَرٌ. See also Ubai's reading.
- 170/169: إِنَّ الَّذِينَ اسْتَمْسَكُوا - وَالَّذِينَ يَمْسِكُونَ. So al-A'mash. See also Ubai's reading.
- 171/170: وَتَذَكَّرُوا - وَتَذَكَّرُوا.
- 187: عَنْهَا - عَنْهَا. So read also by Ibn 'Abbās.

SŪRA VIII

1: يَسْأَلُونَكَ الْأَنْفَالَ - يَسْأَلُونَكَ عَنِ الْأَنْفَالِ, as read by many others.

يُنَبِّئُكُمْ فِيهَا تَشَاجِرُكُمْ بِهِ - يَبَشِّرُكُمْ. Given from the Friends of Ibn Mas'ūd.

2: فَرَّقَتْ - وَجَلَّتْ. See also Ubai's reading.

6: تَبَيَّنَ - تَبَيَّنَ.

14: هَذَا - ذَلِكَ.

19: إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَمَعَ - وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ مَعَ, but some said he read إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَمَعَ.

25: لَنُصِيبَنَّ - لَا تُصِيبَنَّ. So Ubai and many others, but some said he read أَنْ تُصِيبَ.

27: لَا تَخُونُوا (second occurrence) - تَخُونُوا.

38/39: يَنْتَهُوا - يَنْتَهُوا which necessitates لَكُمْ instead of لَهُمْ.

42/43: بِالْعُدُوِّ الْعَلِيَّا وَهُمْ بِالْعُدُوِّ السُّفْلَى - بِالْعُدُوِّ.

57/59: فَشَرُّدْ - فَشَرُّدْ, which some gave also from al-A'mash.

59/61: لَا يَحْسِبُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا أَنَّهُمْ سَبَقُوا - لَا يَحْسِبُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا أَنَّهُمْ سَبَقُوا. Others, however, only note the addition of أَنَّهُمْ سَبَقُوا.

SŪRA IX

In Ibn Mas'ūd's Codex this Sūra had the Basmala.

7: لَيْسَ لِلْمُشْرِكِينَ - كَيْفَ يَكُونُ لِلْمُشْرِكِينَ.

عَهْدٌ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ وَدِمَةٌ - عَهْدٌ. But some said he read عَهْدٌ - عَهْدٌ.

8: دِمَةٌ - دِمَةٌ.

21: يَبَشِّرُهُمْ - يَبَشِّرُهُمْ.

28: عَائِلَةٌ - عَائِلَةٌ. So read by 'Alqama and others.

37: يُضِلُّ - يُضِلُّ, which was the reading of al-Hasan and Ya'qub.

زَيْنَ لَهُمْ سُوءٌ - زَيْنَ لَهُمْ سُوءٌ. So read also by Zaid b. 'Alī.

38: تَنَافَلْتُمْ - تَنَافَلْتُمْ. It was the reading of al-A'mash.

47: زَادَكُمْ - زَادَكُمْ. So read also by Ubai and Ibn Abī 'Abla.

51: لَنْ يُصِيبَنَا - هَلْ يُصِيبُنَا, but some say he read يُصِيبُنَا as did Talḥa.

54: تَتَقَبَّلُ - تَتَقَبَّلُ.

61: أَذُنُ خَيْرٍ وَرَحْمَةٍ - أَذُنُ خَيْرٍ.

61/62: رَحْمَةٍ - رَحْمَةٍ. Which was the reading of Ḥamza, al-A'mash and 'Alī.

81/82: بِأَن قَعَدُوا خَفَتْ - بِمَقْعَدِهِمْ خَلَفَتْ.

106/107: غَنُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ - عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ.

107/108: لِمَنْ حَارَبُوا - لِمَنْ حَارَبَ. So read by al-A'mash also.

109/110: فَأَنهَارُهُ قَوَاعِدُهُ - فَأَنهَارُهُ. See also Ubai's reading here.

110/111: وَلَوْ قُطِعَتْ قُلُوبُهُمْ - أَنْ تَقَطَّعَ قُلُوبُهُمْ. Some gave Talḥa's reading وَلَوْ قُطِعَتْ قُلُوبُهُمْ as from the Friends of Ibn Mas'ūd.

See also Ubai's reading.

111/112: بِأَنَّ لَهُمُ الْحِجَّةَ - بِأَنَّ لَهُمُ الْحِجَّةَ, a reading given from 'Umar and al-A'mash also.

112/113: النَّاسِيبِينَ الْعَالِيِينَ الْمُحَارِبِينَ السَّاحِحِينَ الرَّازِكِينَ etc. - النَّاسِيبُونَ. so Ubai.

السَّاحِدِينَ الْأَمِيرِينَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَالنَّاهِينَ

وَالْمُحَافِظِينَ - وَالْمُحَافِظُونَ. So Ubai.

117/118: مَا زَاغَتْ قُلُوبٌ طَائِفَةٌ - مَا كَادَ يَزِيغُ قُلُوبُ فَرِيقٍ. See Ubai.

119/120: مِنْ - مِنْ. So read by Ibn 'Abbās also.

الضَّادِّينَ - الضَّادِّينَ. So read by Ibn 'Abbās.

122/123: مِنْ كُلِّ طَائِفَةٍ مِنْهُمْ غُصْبَةٌ - مِنْ كُلِّ فِرْقَةٍ مِنْهُمْ طَائِفَةٌ.

أَتَقَلَّبُوا - رَجَعُوا.

126/127: لَا تَرَى - لَا تَرَى, as Ubai and al-A'mash, but some say he read تَرَى.

مَرَّتَيْنِ وَمَا يَتَذَكَّرُونَ - مَرَّتَيْنِ ثُمَّ لَا يَتُوبُونَ وَلَا هُمْ يَتَذَكَّرُونَ.

SURA X

- 2: عَجَبًا - عَجَبٌ. Ibn 'Abbās so read also.
- 4: حَقًّا أَنَّهُ - حَقًّا أَنَّهُ. So read by Abū Ja'far and al-A'mash.
- بَدَأَ - يَبْدَأُ. So Ubai.
- 11/12: لَفَضَيْنَا إِلَيْهِمْ أَجْلَهُمْ - لَفَضِيَ إِلَيْهِمْ أَجْلَهُمْ. So Ibn Muḥaiṣin and al-A'mash.
- 16/17: لَا أَنْذَرُكُمْ or لَا أَنْذَرْتُمْ - لَا أُنْذِرُكُمْ. So read by Ibn 'Abbās.
- 19/20: أُمَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ عَلَى الْهَدَى - أُمَّةٌ وَاحِدَةٌ.
- 22/23: يُنْشِرُكُمْ - يُسِيرُكُمْ. So read by al-Ḥasan.
- جَرَيْنَ بِكُمْ - جَرَيْنَ بِهِمْ.
- حَبِطَ - أُحْبِطَ. So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Alī.
- 24/25: زَخْرَفَهَا - زَخَّرَفَهَا. So Ubai and 'Isā ath-Thaqafi.
- وَزَيَّنَتْ - وَزَيَّنَتْ. So Ubai and Zaid b. 'Alī.
- أَتَتْهُمْ - أَتَتْهَا. So read by Ibn Abī 'Abī. See also Ubai's reading.
- 30/31: تَتْلُوا - تَتْلُوا, the reading of Ḥamza, al-Kisā'i and al-A'mash, and said by some to have been the reading of Zaid b. 'Alī.
- 35/36: لَا يَهْدِي - لَا يَهْدِي.
- 36/37: تَفْعَلُونَ - يَفْعَلُونَ.
- 42/43: يَسْمَعُونَ - يَسْمَعُونَ. As in VI, 35.
- 51/52: أَنْتُمْ إِذَا - أَنْتُمْ إِذَا مَا. So read by Zaid b. 'Alī.
- 58/59: فَأَفْرَحُوا - فَلْيَفْرَحُوا. As Ubai and many others.
- 78/79: يَكُونُ - تَكُونُ. So read by al-Ḥasan and Ibn Abī Lailā.
- 81: يَسْحَرُ - السَّحَرُ. The reading of Ubai also.
- 89: تَتَّبِعَانِ - تَتَّبِعَانِ.
- 90: أَنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ - أَنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ.

SURA XI

- 92: نُنَجِّيكَ - نُنَجِّيكَ. So read by Ubai and Ibn as-Samaifa.
- يَا بُنَايَكَ - يَبْنَايَكَ. Some however, say he read يَبْنَايَكَ.
- 98: فَهَلَّا - فَلَوْلَا. So read by Ubai also.
- 12/15: إِلَيْهِ - عَلَيْهِ.
- جَاءَتْهُ الْهَلَاكَةُ - جَاءَ مَعَهُ مَلَكٌ.
- 13/16: بِسُورٍ - بِعَشْرِ سُورٍ. So Ubai.
- 16/19: بَاطِلًا - بَاطِلٌ. So Ubai, and given by some from 'Āṣim.
- 25/27: قَوْمِهِ فَقَالَ يَا قَوْمِ - قَوْمِهِ.
- 28/30: He omitted the words مِنْ عِنْدِهِ.
- 38/40: كُلِّ مَا - كُلِّهَا. A purely orthographic variant.
- 41/43: مَجْرَاهَا - He supported TR against the alternative reading مَجْرَاهَا.
- مُجْرَاهَا.
- مُرْسَهَا - مَرَسَهَا, as read by 'Isā ath-Thaqafi and al-A'mash.
- 44/46: وَاسْتَوَتْ عَلَى الْخُودِي وَفَضِيَ الْأَمْرُ وَاسْتَوَتْ عَلَى الْخُودِي.
- 46/48: أَنْ تَسْأَلَنِي - فَلَا تَسْأَلَنِي.
- 49/51: مِنْ قَبْلِ هَذَا الْقُرْآنِ - مِنْ قَبْلِ هَذَا.
- 57/60: يَسْتَخْلِفُ - يَسْتَخْلِفُ. So read by Hubaira 'an Ḥaṣṣ.
- تَضْرُوهُ - تَضْرُوهُ. So read by Hubaira. Some said Ibn Mas'ūd read تَنْقُصُونَهُ.
- 71/74: قَائِمَةٌ وَهُوَ قَائِدٌ - قَائِمَةٌ, but others say قَائِمَةٌ وَهُوَ جَالِسٌ and others add that he read فِي instead of فِي.
- 72/75: شَيْخًا - شَيْخًا. So Ubai and al-A'mash.
- أَنِّي يَكُونُ لِي وَلَدٌ - أَلَدٌ.
- 74/77: يُجَادِلُهُمْ - يُجَادِلُنَا.
- 78/80: الْمُخْبَأِثَاتِ - السَّيِّئَاتِ.

81/83: He omitted the words *أَحَدٌ مِنْكُمْ* ولا يلتفت منكم *أَحَدٌ* but some say that after *امراتك* he added *ألا يجوز* ولقد وفيها اليه اهله كلهم *ألا يجوز* (reminiscent of XXVI, 170, 171).

101/103: *أَغْنَى - أَعْنَى*.

اللاتي كانوا يدعون - التي يدعون.

زادهم - زادهم.

102/104: *وَكَذَلِكَ* without *كَذَلِكَ*.

105/107: *يَأْتُونَ - يَأْتِ*. So al-A'mash. Others say he read *يَأْتِي* like Ubai.

111/113: *إِنْ كُلِّ إِلَّا - وَإِنْ كُلًّا لَهَا*. See also Ubai's reading.

113/115: *تَنْصُرُونَ - تَنْصُرُوا*. So read by Zaid b. 'Ali.

116/118: *نَفِيَّة - بَقِيَّة*. So read by Ubai.

SURA XII

8: *عَصَبَةً - عَصَبَةً*. So read by 'Ali.

10: *مِنْهُمْ وَبَيْنَهُمْ - مِنْهُمْ*.

لَا تَقْتُلُوهُ وَاجْعَلُوهُ - لَا تَقْتُلُوا يُوسُفَ وَالْقَوْمَ.

غَسَبَتْ. He supported the reading of TR here and in v. 15.

12: *نَلَهُوْا وَنَلَعَبْ - بَرْنَعْ وَبَلَعَتْ*.

17: *نَنْضِلْ - نَسْتَبِقْ*.

18: *فَصَبْرًا جَبِيلًا - فَصَبْرًا جَبِيلًا*. So Ubai and 'Isā ath-Thaqafi.

22: *جَعَلْنَاهُ حُكْمًا وَعَلَمًا - آتَيْنَاهُ حُكْمًا وَعَلَمًا*.

23: *وَعَلَقَتْ أَبْوَابُهَا وَتَرَعَتْ أَبْوَابُهَا - غَلَقَتْ أَبْوَابُهَا*.

هَيْئَتُ. He agreed with TR, though some said he read *هَيْئَتُ*.

like Ibn as-Samaifa.

25: *وَجَدَا - أَلْفَيَا*.

31: *مَكَا - مَكَا*. So read by Mu'adh.

حَاشَى اللَّهِ or *حَاشَا اللَّهُ* or *حَاشَى اللَّهِ*. See also Ubai.

Some, however, said he read *حَاشَا لِلَّهِ* like Abū 'Amr and al-Yazidī, or *حَاشَا اللَّهُ*.

بَشَرًا or *بَشَرًا*: though others said *بَشَرِي* and others *بَشَرَاء*.

33: *أَصْبُ - أَصْبُ*. So Ubai and Ibn as-Samaifa.

35: *عَتَى - عَتَى*, said to be in the dialect of Hudhail.

36: *عَمَّا - عَمَّا*, said to be in the dialect of 'Umān.

خَبَرًا - خَبَرًا.

43: *سُنْبُلَاتٍ - سَنَابِلٍ* and also in v. 46. So read by Ja'far as-Sādiq.

47: *فِي سُنْبُلِهِ فَإِنَّهُ أَقْبَى لَهُ - فِي سُنْبُلِهِ*.

49: *تَعَصْرُونَ - يَعَصْرُونَ*. See also Ubai's reading.

62: *لِفَتْنِهِ - لِفَتْنِهِ* as the non-Kūfan reading.

64: *خَيْرٌ أَمَّا فَظْلِينَ - خَيْرٌ حَافِظًا*, some say, however, that he read this instead of *أَرْحَمَ الرَّاحِمِينَ*.

65: *تَبَغَى - تَبَغَى*. So read by Abū Haiwa.

69: *دَخَلُوا عَلَيْهِ عَرَفَ يُوسُفُ أَخَاهُ - دَخَلُوا عَلَى يُوسُفَ أَخَاهُ*.

70: *جَعَلَ - جَعَلَ*.

فَأَذِنَ مُؤَذِّنٌ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ تَخْرُجَ الْعِيرُ - ثُمَّ أَذِنَ مُؤَذِّنٌ.

71: *عَلَيْهِ - عَلَيْهِمْ*.

72: *صَوَّغَ - صَوَّغَ*. So Zaid b. 'Ali and Ibn Waththāb. See also Ubai.

76: *كُلِّ ذِي عِلْمٍ عَالِمٍ* or *كُلِّ ذِي عَالِمٍ* or *كُلِّ ذِي عَالِمٍ*.

77: *فَأَسْرَهُ - فَأَسْرَهَا*. So read also by Ibn Abī 'Abla.

83: *لَا يَعْلُ أَنْ - عَمَى اللَّهُ أَنْ*.

87: *فَضَّلَ - رَوَّحَ*. See also Ubai's reading.

88: *فَأَوْفَى لَنَا الْكَفْلَ وَأَوْفَى رِكَابَنَا - فَأَوْفَى لَنَا الْكَفْلَ*.

- 32/37: السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَجَعَلَ لَكُمُ الْأَرْضَ فَرَارًا - السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ: 32/37.
 41/42: Some say he read لَوْلَدَي like al-Hasan, 'Ali and others.
 46/47: وَمَا كَانَ مَكْرَهُمْ - وَإِنْ كَانَ مَكْرَهُمْ, though others say he read وَإِنْ كَانَ مَكْرَهُمْ.
 50/51: تَغْشَى - تَغْشَى.

SŪRA XV

- 2: رَبِّمَا - رَبِّمَا said to be in the dialect of Tamīm.
 6: وَقَالَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا - وَقَالُوا.
 7: نُرَبِّمَا مَلَائِكَةً - نَأْتِينَا بِالْمَلَائِكَةِ.
 14: لَظَلُّوا - فَظَلُّوا. So read by Ubai.
 15: سَكِرَتْ - سُكِرَتْ. So read by Ubai and Abān b. Taghlib.
 17: لَعِين - رَجِيم.
 27: خَلَقْنَاهُ - He omitted خَلَقْنَاهُ.
 51: وَأَعْلَاهُمْ - وَنَبِّهَهُمْ. So read also by Ibn Qais.
 52: إِذ - حِينَ. So Ibn Qais also.
 53: تَوَجَّل - تَوَجَّل, said to have been the reading of the friends of Ibn Mas'ūd, but others said he read تَخَفَّ, as was also read by Ubai.
 نَبِّشْرُكَ - نَبِّشْرُكَ.
 54: نَبِّشْرُونَ - نَبِّشْرُونَ.
 56: مِنْ سَعَةِ رَحْمَةٍ - مِنْ رَحْمَةٍ. Read thus also by Ibn Qais.
 65: يَلْتَفِتْنَ - يَلْتَفِتْنَ.
 66: وَقُلْنَا لَهُ إِنَّ دَابِرَ - وَقُلْنَا إِنَّ دَابِرَ, though some said دَابِرَ - أَنْ دَابِرَ.
 72: لَفِي سَكْرَتِهِمْ يَلْعَبُونَ - لَفِي سَكْرَتِهِمْ يَلْعَبُونَ.
 79: مُبِين - مُبِين.

SŪRA XVI

- 9: مِنْكُمْ - مِنْهَا. Said to have been so read by 'Ali also.
 11: يُخْرِجُ - يُنْبِتُ.
 12: قِيَارِيَاخ - وَالنَّجْمُ. So Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif.
 19: يَعْلَمُ الَّذِي تَبْدُونَ وَمَا تَكْتُمُونَ وَالَّذِينَ يَعْلَمُ مَا تُسْرُونَ وَمَا تُلْعِنُونَ - friends of Ibn Mas'ūd.
 20: كَخَلْقِهِمْ لَا يَخْلُقُونَ شَيْئًا - لَا يَخْلُقُونَ شَيْئًا وَهُمْ يَخْلُقُونَ.
 28/30: نَوَقَّهْمُ - تَتَوَقَّهْمُ. Similarly in v. 34.
 37/39: يَهْدِي - يَهْدِي (for يَهْدِي) or يَهْدِي. See also Ubai's reading.
 41/43: لَنَنْوِيَهُمْ - لَنَنْوِيَهُمْ. So read by 'Ali, Nu'aim b. Maisara and others.
 ظَلَمُوا - فَظَلَمُوا. So Ubai and Abū 'I-Barhashīm.
 43/45: يُوحَى - He supported TR against the other reading يُوحَى.
 48/50: عَنْ أَيْمَانِهِمْ وَعَنْ شَمَائِلِهِمْ - عَنْ أَيْمَانِهِمْ وَعَنْ شَمَائِلِهِمْ سَجْدًا لِلَّهِ.
 51/53: إِنَّمَا هُوَ إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ - إِنَّمَا هُوَ إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ.
 54/56: إِذَا كُشِفَ - إِذَا كُشِفَ.
 62/64: مُفْرَطُونَ - مُفْرَطُونَ, agreeing with the reading of Warsh.
 65/67: لَعِبَرَةٌ - لَعِبَرَةٌ.
 66/68: نُسْفِكُمْ - نُسْفِكُمْ, agreeing with reading of Nāfi', Ibn 'Āmir and Ya'qūb.
 67/69: ثَمَرَاتِ الْبَخِيلِ وَالْأَعْنَابِ تَخْذُونَ مِنْهُ سَكَرًا وَرِزْقًا حَسَنًا - ثَمَرَاتِ الْبَخِيلِ وَالْأَعْنَابِ تَخْذُونَ مِنْهُ سَكَرًا مُسْتَخْرَجُونَ مِنْهُ رِزْقًا حَسَنًا.
 69/71: يَبْصُرُونَ - يَبْصُرُونَ.
 71/73: بَرَادِي - He read بَرَادِي مَلَكَتْ أَيْمَانَهُمْ - بَرَادِي, though some said بَرَادِي, though some said he read يَجْحَدُونَ without the هُمْ.

- 73/75: مَنْ لَا يَرْزُقُهُمْ - مَا لَا يَمْلِكُ لَهُمْ رِزْقًا.
 75/77: هَلْ يَسْتَوِي هُوَ وَمَنْ أَتَيْنَا بِرِزْقًا حَسَنًا - وَمَنْ رَزَقْنَاهُ مِنَّا رِزْقًا حَسَنًا.
 76/78: يُوَجِّهَ or يُوَجِّهَهُ, though some said يُوَجِّهَ and others تُوَجِّهَ.
 77/79: خَبَرَ السَّاعَةِ - أَمْرُ السَّاعَةِ.
 80/82: حِينَ ظَهَرَكُمْ - يَوْمَ ظَهَرَكُمْ.
 81/83: ظِلَالًا يَا وَيْلَكُمْ حِينَ مَسِيرِكُمْ وَوَقْتَ مَقِيلِكُمْ - He read خَلَقَ ظِلَالًا.
 85/87: إِذَا - He omitted the إِذَا رَمَا.
 الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا - الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا.
 86/88: شُرَكَاءُكُمْ فِي النَّارِ - شُرَكَاءُكُمْ.
 He omitted the شُرَكَائُنَا here.
 96/98: لَيُؤَيِّنَ - لَنَجْزِيَنَ.
 97/99: لَيُؤَيِّنَنَّهُمْ (p) - لَنَجْزِيَنَّهُمْ.
 112/113: لِبَاسَ الْخَوْفِ وَالْجُوعِ - لِبَاسَ الْجُوعِ وَالْخَوْفِ, as Ubai.
 Some, however, said that Ibn Mas'ūd simply omitted لِبَاسَ, and others that he omitted لِبَاسَ and then read الْخَوْفِ وَالْجُوعِ.
 115/116: حَرَّمَ اللَّهُ - حَرَّمَ عَلَيْكُمْ.
 124/125: إِنَّمَا أَنْزَلْنَا السَّبْتَ or إِنَّا أَنْزَلْنَا السَّبْتَ - جُعِلَ السَّبْتُ.

SŪRA XVII

- 1: مِنَ اللَّيْلِ - لَيْلًا.
 4: عَلِيًّا - عَلُوًّا. So read by Ubai and Zaid b. 'Alī.
 5: عِبَادًا - عِبَادًا. As Ubai and Ibn Qais.
 فَقَالُوا أَتَأْتِرُ الدِّيَارَ - فَجَاسُوا خِلَالَ الدِّيَارِ.
 9: يُبَشِّرُ - يُبَشِّرُ. So read by Ṭalḥa and Ibn Waththāb.
 23/24: وَوَصَّى - وَفَضَّى. So Ubai.

- إِمَّا يَبْلُغَانِ عِنْدَكَ - إِمَّا يَبْلُغَنَّ عِنْدَكَ الْكِبَرَ أَحَدُهُمَا أَوْ كِلَاهُمَا
 الْكِبَرَ إِمَّا وَاحِدٌ وَإِمَّا كِلَاهُمَا.
 37/39: مَرَحًا - فَرَحًا. As read by Ibn Qais.
 38/40: سَيِّئَاتٍ - سَيِّئَةٍ, though some said he read خَبِيثَةٍ and others سَيِّئَةٍ. See also Ubai's reading.
 44/46: سَبَّحَتْ - سَبَّحَتْ as al-A'mash and Ṭalḥa, though some said سَبَّحَتْ لَهُ الْأَرْضُ وَسَبَّحَتْ لَهُ السَّمَوَاتُ that his reading was
 مَا تَطَّلُنُكُمْ تَتَّبِعُونَ - إِنْ تَتَّبِعُونَ.
 47/50: تَدْعُونَ - يَدْعُونَ. So read also by Qatāda.
 رَبِّكَ - رَبِّهِمْ.
 أَقْرَبُ دَرَجَاتٍ - أَقْرَبُ.
 59/61: مُبْصَرَّةً - مُبْصَرَّةً. So read also by Zaid b. 'Alī.
 60/62: فِتْنَةً لَهُمْ - فِتْنَةً لِلنَّاسِ.
 62/64: لَا حَتَمَكَ - لَا حَتَمَكَ.
 71/73: يَكْتَابُهُمْ - بِأَسْمِهِمْ. So Ubai and al-Ḥasan.
 فَمَنْ أَهْدَىٰ أَوْقَى - فَمَنْ أَوْقَى.
 فَأُولَئِكَ يُجْزَوْنَ حَسَابَهُمْ يَقَرُّونَ - فَأُولَئِكَ يَقَرُّونَ.
 76/78: يَلْبَثُوا - يَلْبَثُونَ. So read also by Ubai.
 85/87: أُوتُوا - أُوتِيتُمْ. Likewise al-A'mash.
 93/95: ذَهَبَ - زُخْرِفٍ. Cf. Goldziher, *Richtungen*, p. 17.
 97/99: كُلَّ مَا - كُلَّهَا. A purely orthographic variant.
 106/107: فَرَقْنَاهُ - فَرَّقْنَاهُ, as Ubai, Ibn 'Abbās and others, but some say he added عَلَيْكَ.
 110: تَخَافَتْ بِصَوْتِكَ وَلَا تَعَالَ بِه - تَخَافَتْ بِهَا.

SŪRA XVIII

- 1: عَوَجًا بَلْ دِينًا - عَوَجًا. So Ja'far as-Sādiq.

يُبَشِّرُ - يَبْشُرُ: 2.

مَنْ أَفْوَاهِهِمْ مَا لَمْ عَلَيْهَا مِنْ مِهْنَانٍ - مِنْ أَفْوَاهِهِمْ: 5/4.

11/10: عَدَدَا - عَدَدَى (?) as read by Ṭalḥa and Ibn Ghazwān.

16/15: مِنْ دُونِنَا اللهُ - مِنْ دُونِ اللهِ, though others say he read دُونِنَا اللهُ.

17/16: تَزَاوَرُ - تَزَوَّرُ. So read by Abū 'l-Mutawakkil.

20/19: يَظْهَرُوا - يَظْهَرُوا. So read also by Zaid b. 'Alī.

21/20: بِنَاءَ - بِنَيْتَا. As Mu'adh.

25/24: وَقَالُوا وَلَيْسُوا - وَلَيْسُوا.

ثَلَاثَ مِائَةِ سَنَةٍ - ثَلَاثَ مِائَةِ سِنِينَ. So read also by Ubai.

28/27: عَيْنَيْكَ - عَيْنَاكَ. It was the reading of al-Ḥasan and al-A'mash.

33/31: كُلُّ الْجَنَّتَيْنِ آتَى أَكْلَهُ - كُلُّمَا الْجَنَّتَيْنِ بَاتَتْ أَكْلَهُمَا, though some say he read كَلَّا.

38/36: لَكِنْ أَنَا لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ رَبِّي - لَكِنَّا هُوَ اللَّهُ رَبِّي, but others say لَكِنْ أَنَا هُوَ اللَّهُ رَبِّي or لَكِنْ هُوَ اللَّهُ رَبِّي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ, and others that he read as Ubai and al-Ḥasan.

45/43: تَذَرِيهِ - تَذَرِيهِ, though others say تَذَرِيهِ.

48/46: جِئْتُمُونَا كَخَلْقِكُمُ الْأَوَّلِ بَلْ - جِئْتُمُونَا كَمَا خَلَقْتُمْ أَوَّلَ مَرَّةٍ بَلْ رَعِمْتُمْ رَعِمْتُمْ.

52/50: يَقُولُ لَهُمْ - يَقُولُ.

53/51: مُلَاقَوْهَا - مُوَاقِعُهَا. So read by al-A'mash and Ṭalḥa.

55/53: وَمَا مَنَعَ النَّاسَ أَنْ يُؤْمِنُوا إِذْ جَاءَهُمُ الْهُدَى وَيَسْتَغْفِرُوا رَبَّهُمْ إِلَّا أَنْ - وَمَا مَنَعَهُمْ إِلَّا أَنْ يُؤْمِنُوا بِرَبِّهِمْ وَيَسْتَغْفِرُوا لَهُمْ بَلْ - تَأْتِيهِمْ بُرِيدُونَ أَنْ تَأْتِيَهُمْ.

57/55: فَمَنْ أَكْثَرُ ذَنْبًا مِمَّنْ ذُكِّرَ - وَمَنْ أَظْلَمُ مِمَّنْ ذُكِّرَ.

فِي آذَانِهِمْ وَقَرَأَ وَعَلَى أَعْيُنِهِمْ غِطَاءٌ - فِي آذَانِهِمْ وَقَرَأَ.

59/58: تِلْكَ الْقُرُونُ الْأَخْلَاقِيَّةُ - تِلْكَ الْقُرُونُ. So Ubai and Ibn Qais.

أَرَأَيْتَكَ - أَرَأَيْتَ: 63/62.

بَارِئُ الشَّيْطَانِ - إِلَّا الشَّيْطَانُ أَنْ أَذْكُرَهُ, but others say his only variant was أَذْكُرْكَ.

73/72: فَوَلَّى - أَمَرِي.

76/75: تَصَحَّبَنِي - تَصَحَّبَنِي.

77/76: يَنْقُضَ - يَنْقُضَ as Ubai and al-A'mash, but others say يَنْقُضُ and yet others يَنْقَاضُ.

لَتَنَخِذَ - لَتَنَخِذَ as Qatāda and al-Ḥasan, but others say لا تَنَخِذُ. See also Ubai's reading.

78/77: هَذَا الْفِرَاقُ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَكَ - هَذَا فِرَاقُ. So read also by Ubai.

79/78: سَفِينَةٍ صَالِحَةٍ - سَفِينَةٍ. So Ubai.

80/79: فَخَافَ رَبَّكَ - فَخَشِنَا. Some, however, give this only from Ubai.

86/84: حَامِيَةٍ - حَامِيَةٍ. So Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif, Ibn 'Amir, Ḥamza, al-Kisā'i and others.

94/93: قَالَ الَّذِينَ مِنْ دُونِهِمْ - قَالُوا.

96/95: زُبْرٌ - زُبْرٌ. So read also by Ibn Qais.

سَوَى - سَوَى. So 'Alī, Ibn 'Abbās and Qatāda.

الْمُجَلِّينَ - الْمُجَلِّينَ. So 'Alī, Ibn 'Abbās and Qatāda.

عَلَيْهَا - عَلَيْهِ. So 'Alī, Ibn 'Abbās and Qatāda.

102: أَفْظَنَ - أَفْظَنَ.

109: مَدَدَا - مَدَدَا. So Ibn 'Abbās, Mujāhid, al-A'mash and others.

أَنْ تَنْقُضَ - أَنْ تَنْقُضَ.

مَدَدَا - مَدَدَا. As Ubai, Mujāhid, Ibn 'Abbās and others.

SURA XIX

2, 3/1, 2: He read ذِكْرُ رَحْمَةِ رَبِّكَ الرَّحْمَنِ إِذْ نَادَاهُ زَكَرِيَّا يَدَّاهُ.

See Ubai's reading.

- 7: نَبَشْرَكَ - نَبَشْرَكَ. See also Ubai's reading.
- 8/9: عَتِيًّا - عَتِيًّا. See also Ubai's reading.
- 18: إِلَّا أَنْ تَكُونَ نَفِيًّا - إِنَّ كُنْتَ نَفِيًّا. So read by Abū Rajāʾ.
- 19: لِيَهَبَ - لِيَهَبَ as Nāfiʿ, Abū ʿAmr, al-Ḥasan and others.
- 24: فَخَاطَبَهَا مِنْ تَحْتِهَا - فَخَاطَبَهَا مِنْ تَحْتِهَا. So read by Anas and Ubai.
- 26: تَرَيْنَ - تَرَيْنَ. So read by Muʾadh, Ṭalḥa and others.
- 26/27: صَبَتَا - صَبَتَا as Zaid b. ʿAlī, but others say he read صَبَتَا as Anas. See also Ubai's reading.
- 27/28: وَجَاءَتْ بِوَحْمِلِهِ إِلَى قَوْمِهَا - فَأَتَتْ بِوَحْمِلِهَا تَحْمِلُهُ.
- 29/30: فَأَشَارَتْ إِلَى مَنْ فِي السَّمَاءِ - فَأَشَارَتْ إِلَى مَنْ فِي السَّمَاءِ.
- 31/32: دُمْتُ - دُمْتُ.
- 34/35: قَالَ اللَّهُ or قَالَ, but others say قَالَ or قَالَ, and others قَالُوا اللَّهُ الْحَقُّ.
- 40/41: وَارْتَوْا الْأَرْضَ - نَرِثُ الْأَرْضَ. See also Ubai's reading.
- 42/43: يَا أَبَتِ - يَا أَبَتِ.
- 51/52: صَادِقًا نَبِيًّا - مُخْلِصًا وَكَانَ رَسُولًا نَبِيًّا. So read also by Ibn Dharr.
- 58/59: يُبْنَى - يُبْنَى, as read by Shibīl, Abū Jaʿfar, Shaiba and others.
- 59/60: الصَّلَوَاتِ - الصَّلَوَاتِ. Was also the reading of al-Ḥasan and aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk.
- 60/61: سَيَدْخُلُونَ - يَدْخُلُونَ. So read by Ṭalḥa.
- 61/62: جَنَّةٍ - جَنَّةٍ. As read by al-Ḥasan, ʿAlī b. Ṣāliḥ and al-Aʿmash.
- 64/65: يَنْزِلُ إِلَّا يَقُولُ - تَنْزِيلُ إِلَّا بِأَمْرِ.
- 66/67: سَأُخْرِجُ - لَسَوْفَ أُخْرِجُ. So Ṭalḥa.
- 69/70: عَتِيًّا: As in v. 9.
- 70/71: صَلِيًّا - صَلِيًّا.
- 71/72: لَهَا وَارِدُهَا - إِلَّا وَارِدُهَا.

- 72/73: ثُمَّ - ثُمَّ. So read by Ubai, al-Jahḍarī and others.
- 74/75: وَرِيَاءَ - وَرِيَاءَ. So ʿIkrima and al-Jahḍarī. See also Ubai's reading.
- 75/77: وَاللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ - فَسَيَعْلَمُونَ.
- 77/80: أَمَّا رَأَيْتَكَ يَا - أَمَّا رَأَيْتَ الَّذِي كَفَرَ بَايَاتِنَا وَقَالَ مُحَمَّدٌ الَّذِي كَذَّبَكَ وَجَدَّ بَايَاتِنَا وَقَالَ (though perhaps with أَمَّا رَأَيْتَكَ instead of أَمَّا رَأَيْتَكَ). See Ubai's text. Others say he read أَمَّا رَأَيْتَ الَّذِي يَقُولُ إِذَا مِثْلَ لَاؤَيْنَ.
- 80/83: وَنَرْتُهُ مَا عِنْدَهُ وَبَايَاتِنَا فَرْدًا لَا مَالَ لَهُ - وَنَرْتُهُ مَا يَقُولُ وَبَايَاتِنَا فَرْدًا وَلَا وَلَدَ.
- 90/92: يَكَاذُ السَّمَوَاتُ يَنْصَدِعْنَ - تَكَاذُ السَّمَوَاتُ يَنْفَطِرْنَ, though some said يَكَاذُ السَّمَوَاتُ لَتَنْصَدِعْنَ others يَكَاذُ السَّمَوَاتُ لَتَنْصَدِعْنَ.
- 93/94: إِلَّا آتِ الرَّحْمَنِ - إِلَّا آتِ الرَّحْمَنِ as read by Ibn az-Zubair, Abū Haiwa and Yaʿqūb, but others said آتِ الرَّحْمَنِ.
- 97: لَتَبَشِّرَ - لَتَبَشِّرَ.

SŪRA XX

- 1: طِهَ - طِهَ. See *Lisān al-ʿArab*, xvii, 407.
- 2/1: نَزَّلَ عَلَيْكَ الْفُرْقَانَ - أَنْزَلْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْفُرْقَانَ.
- 15: أَخْفِيهَا مِنْ نَفْسِي فَكَيْفَ أُعْلِمُهَا لَكُمْ - أَخْفِيهَا. See also Ubai's reading.
- 16/17: آتِيَةً فَلَا تَكُنْ فِي مِرْيَةٍ مِنْهَا أَكَادَ - آتِيَةً أَكَادَ.
- 17/18: وَمَا ذَا فِي يَمِينِكَ - وَمَا تِلْكَ يَمِينِكَ.

- 21/22: سَاعِدُهَا كَسِيرَتِهَا - سَاعِدُهَا سِيرَتِهَا. So read also by Ubai.
- 31/32: وَأَشْدُّ - أَشْدُّ as Ubai.
- 42/44: وَلَا نَبِيًّا - وَلَا نَبِيًّا.
- 44/46: فَقُلَا لَهُ - فَقُلَا لَهُ.
- 45/47: يَفْرَطُ - يَفْرَطُ. So read by Abū Naufal, al-A'mash and Sallām.
- 46/48: قَالَ لَا تَخَافَاهُ إِنِّي مَعَا أَسْمَعُ - قَالَ لَا تَخَافَا إِنِّي مَعَكُمَا أَسْمَعُ وَأَرَى تَحَاوَرَكُمَا وَأَرَى.
- 48/50: إِنَّ الْعَذَابَ - إِنَّا قَدْ أَوْحَى إِلَيْنَا أَنَّ الْعَذَابَ عَلَى مَنْ كَذَبَ وَتَوَلَّى سَيُحِيطُ بَيْنَ كَذَبٍ بَيْنَا جَنَّتُمَا بِهِ وَتَوَلَّى.
- 50/52: خَلَقَهُ - خَلَقَهُ. As read by Abū Nahik and many others.
- 58/60: سَوَاءٌ - سَوَاءٌ. As read also by Ibn Qais.
- 59/61: قَالَ وَمَوْعِدِي مَعَكُمْ يَوْمَ رَيْبَتِكُمْ - قَالَ وَمَوْعِدُكُمْ يَوْمَ الرِّيبَةِ. So read by al-Jahdari, an-Nakha'i and others.
- 60, 61/62, 63: He read these verses فَخَرَجَ فِرْعَوْنُ فَجَمَعَ سَحَرَهُ ثُمَّ أَتَى مُوسَى وَنُوحًا عَلَى اللَّهِ الْكُذِبَ. So read also by Ubai.
- 63/66: إِنَّ هَذَانِ سَاحِرَانِ - إِنَّ هَذَانِ سَاحِرَانِ as Ubai, or others said. إِنَّ هَذَانِ سَاحِرَانِ and others.
- 69/72: كَيْدَ سِحْرٍ - كَيْدَ سِحْرٍ as Mujāhid, Humaid and Zaid b. 'Alī. أَيْنَ - حَيْثُ.
- 72/75: لَنْ نُؤْمِنَ بِكَ وَنُؤْتِرَكَ عَلَى مَا - لَنْ نُؤْتِرَكَ عَلَى مَا جَاءَنَا مِنَ الْبَيِّنَاتِ. So read by Ubai and Ibn Khuthaim.
- 80/82: أُنَجِّسُكُمْ - أُنَجِّسُكُمْ.
- 81/83: إِنَّ شَاءَ يَحْلُلَ اللَّهُ لَا عَلَيْكُمْ غَضَبِي - فَيَحْلُلْ عَلَيْكُمْ غَضَبِي. So read by Ubai also.

- 89/91: يَرَوْنَ - يَرَوْنَ.
- 94/95: يَبْنُوهُ - Al-Farra' says that he saw it written thus in the Codex of Ibn Mas'ūd.
- 96: فَقَبِضْتُ قَبِضَةً - فَقَبِضْتُ قَبِضَةً. So read by Ubai, Ibn az-Zubair and others.
- قَبِضَاتٍ مِنْ آثَارٍ - قَبِضَةً مِنْ آثَرِ الرَّسُولِ فَبَذَنَهَا وَكَذَلِكَ قَبِضَةً فَالْقَيْنَهَا وَكَذَلِكَ. So Ibn Khuthaim; but others say he read وَكَذَلِكَ omitting آثَرِ الرَّسُولِ فَبَذَنَهَا, and others that he read آثَرِ فَرَسِ الرَّسُولِ.
- 97: يُخْلِفُهُ - يُخْلِفُهُ. So read by Yahyā b. Ya'mar and Qatāda. See also Ubai.
- وَلَنُحَرِّقَنَّهُ وَلَنُحَرِّقَنَّهُ - لَنُحَرِّقَنَّهُ. See also Ubai.
- 103: يَتَسَاءَلُونَ - يَتَسَاءَلُونَ. So Ubai.
- 113/112: يُحَدِّثُ - يُحَدِّثُ, or some said يُحَدِّثُ.
- 114/113: نَقِضِي إِلَيْكَ وَحْيِي - يُقْضَى إِلَيْكَ وَحْيِي, which was the reading of al-Hasan, Ya'qub and al-A'mash.
- 121/119: فَكَشَفَتْ - فَأَكَلَا مِنْهَا فَبَدَتْ لَهُمَا سَوَآتُهُمَا وَطَفِنَا بِخِصْمَانِ عَلَيْهِمَا عَنَّهُ وَعَنْ زَوْجِهِ غَطَاءَهَا وَخِصْمَانِ عَلَيْهِمَا.
- 122/120: ثُمَّ تَابَ عَلَيْهِ رَبُّهُ وَهَدَى - ثُمَّ أَجْتَبَهُ رَبُّهُ فَتَابَ عَلَيْهِ وَهَدَى.
- 123/121: وَإِمَا يَا بَيْنَكُمَا - فَإِمَا يَا بَيْنَكُمَا.
- 128: مَنْ - كَمْ.
- 135: الصِّرَاطِ الْمُسْتَقِيمِ - الصِّرَاطِ.